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# China Report

RED FLAG

No 19, 1 OCTOBER 1986

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## CHINA REPORT

### RED FLAG

No 19, 1 October 1986

[Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal RED FLAG of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.]

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RESOLUTION OF THE CPC CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON THE GUIDING PRINCIPLES FOR  
BUILDING A SOCIALIST SOCIETY WITH AN ADVANCED CULTURE AND IDEOLOGY (ADOPTED  
AT THE 6TH PLENARY SESSION OF THE 12TH CPC CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON 28 SEPTEMBER  
1986)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 86 pp 2-9

[Text] In accordance with the strategic decision of the 12th CPC National Congress on promoting the cultural and ideological progress of our socialist society as well as its material progress, and in light of the guidelines set by the party's national conference in 1985 and of the requirements of China's all-round reform, the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee has reviewed the achievements made in the past few years in the building of a society that is advanced culturally and ideologically and has studied the problems that have arisen in the process. The Central Committee believes that to ensure the smooth progress of the drive for socialist modernization, it is of great immediate and long-range importance to clarify, in the new situation, the guiding principles for China's cultural and ideological development and to improve our work in that area.

I. The Strategic Importance of Building a Socialist Society With an Advanced Culture and Ideology

The overall scheme of China's socialist modernization is as follows: Taking economic development as the key link, we are to continue to reform our economic and political structures and at the same time speed up the country's cultural and ideological progress, making sure that these aspects of our work are coordinated and promote each other. From this perspective all our party comrades should understand the strategic importance of promoting socialist culture and ideology.

Socialist culture and ideology guided by Marxism are important characteristics of a socialist society. During the socialist period, material progress lays the groundwork and furnishes practical experience for cultural and ideological progress, which, in turn, gives intellectual impetus and support to the former and provides a powerful guarantee for its correct orientation. Our success in building socialism depends on our effort to build a society with a socialist culture and ideology.

Thanks to our success in restoring order in all fields, launching all-round reform and achieving material progress since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in December 1978, we have accomplished much in building such society. Encouraging the emancipation of people's minds, adhering to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts and bringing into full play the scientific spirit and creative vigor of Marxism, our party has abandoned a series of ossified concepts and raised its understanding of socialism to a new height. Political stability and unity have prevailed throughout the country, democracy and the legal system are being gradually perfected and the initiative of the cadres and masses has increased. Mass activities for promoting cultural and ideological progress are becoming more and more widespread and are yielding much fresh experience. A social climate of respect for knowledge and talent is being fostered, and our educational, scientific and cultural endeavors are thriving. The party's fine tradition is developing and the work style of its members and general standards of social conduct is improving. These are the main trends. We must recognize, however, that in many ways our work to promote socialist culture and ideology has not been adapted to the needs of socialist modernization, reform and the opening of the country to the outside world. We must acknowledge that we lack adequate understanding of the importance of our work in this area, that we still have some problems to solve regarding the principles guiding it and that both in the party and in society at large there remain some grievously negative phenomena that will take redoubled efforts on our part to eliminate. Unless we have an overall view of how things stand in our work to promote socialist culture and ideology, and unless we fully understand that it is urgent and will be of long duration, we shall not be able to keep up our efforts, and the general interest will suffer.

Reform means the development and perfection of the socialist system. The progress of the reform in all areas reflects the tremendous changes that have taken place in China in the past few years. Our policies of launching all-round reform and opening to the rest of the world have infused our socialist cause with great vitality and have significantly promoted socialist culture and ideology. Development of the socialist commodity economy and improvement of socialist democracy have led to profound changes in people's ideology and outlook. At the same time they have placed higher demands on us in our effort to foster socialist culture and ideology. This is a great historic test for us: Will we be able to meet these demands by shaping public opinion, values and the cultural and social environment so as to facilitate socialist modernization and reform? Will we be able to resist the decadent bourgeois and feudal ideologies and avoid the danger of deviating from the right direction? Will we be able to arouse the boundless enthusiasm and initiative of the people of all our nationalities so that through the efforts of several generations we can build a modern, powerful socialist country? We should be confident that with the party's correct leadership, with the guidance of Marxism, with our basic socialist economic system and policies, with the people's democratic state power and socialist legality and, in particular, with the people's firm support for socialist construction and reform, we shall achieve socialist modernization, so long as we do our best to promote the cultural and ideological progress of our socialist society along with its material progress.

In short, because our work in promoting socialist culture and ideology is of strategic importance, we must ensure that it is capable of pushing forward China's socialist modernization, promoting the all-round reform and the opening to the outside world and embodying the four cardinal principles (keeping to the socialist road, upholding the people's democratic dictatorship, upholding the leadership of the Communist Party, and upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought). That is a basic guiding principle for our work in this area.

## II. The Basic Task in Building a Socialist Society With an Advanced Culture and Ideology

In building a socialist society with an advanced culture and ideology, the basic task is to help people to become well educated and self-disciplined socialist citizens with lofty ideals and moral integrity, and to raise the ideological and ethical standards of the whole nation as well as its educational and scientific levels--all in the interest of socialist modernization.

The qualities of a people are a historical product that in turn exerts a great influence on history. There is no doubt that under socialism the improvement of the qualities of all citizens will lead to a steady rise in labor productivity, to a constant development of interpersonal relations of a new type (relations based on public ownership) and to profound changes in the physiognomy of the whole society. All this is an indispensable condition for the success of our drive for socialist modernization.

The endeavor to promote an advanced culture and ideology has two aspects: Raising the people's ideological and ethical standards; and developing education, science and culture. It permeates the whole process of material advance and manifests itself in the economic, political, cultural and other aspects of social life. This constructive endeavor is the task not only of departments in charge of ideological, cultural and educational work but also of all other units and professions. It is the common long-term task of the whole party, of the whole Army and of workers, peasants, intellectuals and other working people and patriots of China's various nationalities.

A serious miscalculation our party made for many years after the basic completion of socialist transformation of private ownership was that it failed to shift the focus of its work to economic construction. Instead, the party continued to adhere to the principle of taking class struggle as the key link, belittled educational, scientific and cultural undertakings, magnified to the extreme class struggle in the ideological sphere and eventually launched the "Cultural Revolution" (1966-76), a decade of domestic turmoil. Summing up the historical experience, the party has explicitly pointed out that the principal contradiction in Chinese society at the present stage is one between the ever-growing material and cultural needs of the people and the country's backward production. It has stated that class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time but that it does not constitute the principal contradiction, and that most contradictions in our society do not have the nature of class struggle. In building a socialist society with an advanced culture and ideology, we

should bear in mind the historical lessons, handle the various contradictions in society correctly and always employ the methods of discussion, reasoning and criticism and self-criticism in addressing ideological problems--that is, the methods of persuasion and education. We should always keep national construction in the forefront of our thoughts. We should do everything possible to unite the people and bring their socialist enthusiasm and initiative into play, to meet their cultural and intellectual needs, to raise their ideological and ethical standards and to develop education, science and culture. In short, we should do everything possible to facilitate the growth of the productive forces.

The modern history of China and of the world shows that no country can progress if it refuses to accept elements of advanced science and culture from abroad. Closing one's country to external contact results only in stagnation and backwardness. We resolutely reject the capitalist ideological and social systems that defend oppression and exploitation, and we reject all the ugly and decadent aspects of capitalism. Nevertheless, we should do our utmost to learn from all countries including the developed capitalist countries, to acquire advanced science and technology, universally applicable expertise in economic management and administrative work and other useful knowledge and to verify and develop in practice what we have learned. Otherwise, we shall remain ignorant and be unable to modernize our own country. As a basic, unalterable state policy, opening to the outside world applies to our efforts to achieve cultural and ideological progress as well as to our work for material progress.

For a long period in the history of ancient civilizations, the great Chinese nation with its long history and cultural tradition stood in the front ranks. But in modern times it has lagged behind, because of a decadent feudal system coupled with imperialist aggression. The Revolution of 1911, the May 4th Movement of 1919 and the Great People's Revolution led by the Communist Party of China brought about tremendous changes, and the birth of new China ushered in the rejuvenation of the great Chinese civilization on the basis of socialism. The latest period of our historical development, whose beginning was marked by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, injected a new, powerful vitality into that rejuvenation in building a society that has not only a high material level but also an advanced culture and ideology, a culture and ideology that take Marxism as their guide, that incorporate the best from historical tradition yet fully embody the spirit of our times, and that base themselves on China's actual conditions yet keep the whole world in view.

### III. Mobilize and Unite the People of All China's Nationalities Through a Common Ideal

To build socialism with Chinese characteristics and make China a modern socialist country having a high degree of democracy and an advanced culture and ideology--such is the common ideal of the people of all our nationalities at the present stage, who shall try to make our country comparatively prosperous by the end of this century and to approach the economic level of the developed countries by the middle of the next. This common ideal

embodies the interests and aspirations of all our workers, peasants, intellectuals and other working people and patriots. It is a powerful force that unites the whole people politically, ideologically and morally in the struggle to overcome all difficulties and make our work a success. To realize this ideal we must cherish those ideas and attitudes that promote modernization, national regeneration, and the reunification of the motherland, that enhance the unity of our various nationalities, foster social progress and the people's well-being and help to create a happy life through honest labor. Only thus can we do away with narrow-minded views on the question of uniting with all possible forces to build socialism--views that for so long have seriously harmed our cause. Then it will be possible for party members and nonparty people, Marxists and non-Marxists, atheists and believers, citizens at home and those living abroad--in short, for all our working people and patriots--to rally together and do what they can to make our common ideal a reality.

The ultimate ideal of our party is to build a communist society that applies the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." For communists and other advanced people, this ideal has been, and will always be, a source of strength and moral support. Socialism with Chinese characteristics is indispensable in the transition to such a society. As far as communists are concerned to build socialism of the Chinese style is to work for the party's ultimate ideal. Any communist who lacks faith and dedication in this practical struggle has deviated, wittingly or unwittingly, from our ideal and has ceased to be a politically conscious communist fighter. Party members, Communist Youth League members and other advanced people should therefore join in the efforts of other workers, peasants and intellectuals and relate the common ideal to the current tasks and objectives of their respective trades and professions, localities and collectives, and to their own job responsibilities and life goals. All should work devotedly at their posts and advance the reform, helping to build our country through thrift and diligence. In our time, honor belongs to those who overcome all difficulties and do exemplary work, contributing to the construction and defense of the motherland.

The more we achieve in socialist modernization, the firmer will be the people's conviction that their common ideal will be realized. We should find effective ways to educate people, making use of the accomplishments in construction and reform and of the immediate experience of the masses to encourage high ideals. At the same time, we should in various ways help the cadres and masses, especially young people, to gain an ever-increasing understanding of the Marxist world outlook and the laws of social development, of the glorious history and revolutionary tradition of our nation, and of its great suffering and heroic struggle against imperialism and feudalism in the century before the birth of the People's Republic. We should help them to understand the contemporary world, with its progress and its contradictions, and also the future of mankind. Thus we will be able to inspire a sense of national pride, self-respect and self-confidence and to place our ideals on a scientific basis.



Our patriotism is closely related to internationalism, and the progress of our country is part of the world's progress in our contacts with others. We Chinese people adhere to the principles of peace and friendship, equality and mutual benefit, mutual support and learning from each other. China's success in its socialist modernization contributes to the struggle against hegemonism, for the preservation of world peace and for human progress.

#### IV. Cultivate and Enrich Socialist Ethics

Socialist ethics means essentially love of the motherland, the people, labor, science and socialism. We should enable this love to find expression in all aspects of our social life. We should see to it that relations of a new type--socialist relations characterized by equality, solidarity, friendship and mutual assistance--are established and strengthened among all our nationalities, among workers, peasants and intellectuals, between the Army and the people, between cadres and the masses and among family members of neighbors, in short among all our people.

Ethics are a reflection of the economic base of a society, not an abstract concept divorced from history. Since our country is still in the initial stage of socialism, we must apply the principle of distribution according to work and develop the socialist commodity economy and competition. Also, for a long time to come, we shall develop varied sectors of the economy, always ensuring the dominant position of the public sector, and we shall encourage some of the people to become prosperous first, before the objective of common prosperity is achieved. Therefore, when educating the people in ethics we should not condemn the justifiable differences in income that result from these historical conditions. At the same time, we should encourage people to develop socialist collectivism, which combines the interests of the state, collectives and individuals, and to cherish the general interest, be honest and trustworthy, help each other in the spirit of fraternity and care for the needy and those who are in difficulty. Socialist morality rejects both the idea and the practice of pursuing personal interests at the expense of others or pursuing the interests of one's own group at the expense of the larger collective, putting money above all else, abusing power for personal gain, cheating and extortion.

In our effort to cultivate socialist morality, we do not mean to reject the principle of distribution according to work or to negate the commodity economy. We shall on no account regard egalitarianism as an ethical principle in our society. But we must reiterate that socialism is a historic movement toward the higher phase of communism. Imbued with a pioneering spirit, the advanced members of our society are ready to blaze new trails and devote themselves entirely to the interests and happiness of the people, to the communist ideal. We should encourage such a high standard of communist ethics through our society. Party members, and leading cadres in particular, should unfailingly live up to that standard. In brief, in our effort to achieve ethical progress, we should proceed from reality and encourage the advanced elements while never neglecting the majority; we should spread education in ethics as widely as possible and try to raise the general standard. This will enable us to draw in people with varying

degrees of political consciousness and to induce them to aim higher, so that there will be a powerful moral force uniting hundreds of millions of people.

We should raise the standard of professional ethics in all types of work. First of all, cadres in party and government organizations should be honest and enthusiastic, and they should serve the people wholeheartedly. They should oppose bureaucratism, cheating and abuse of power for selfish purposes. Greater attention must be paid to improving ethical standards in those trades and professions that directly serve the everyday needs of the people and to eradicating the bad practices particular to such lines of work. In our society everyone serves and is served. A good attitude on the part of those who serve and the good service they offer are an expression of society's concern for its members, and they add to social tranquility and harmonious interpersonal relations.

In our public life we should foster socialist humanism, respect for people and concern for their welfare. In particular, we should protect children, respect women, honor old people, disabled servicemen, family members of soldiers on active service and of revolutionary martyrs, and help the handicapped and persons who have no close relatives and cannot support themselves. We should encourage people to observe the environment and the country's resources and fulfill their duties to the state and the community. When national security is threatened or social peace is endangered, every citizen should step forward unhesitatingly in their defense.

We should work actively to change those undesirable customs that still prevail in cities and the countryside, to advocate cultured, healthful ways of living that are in keeping with scientific principles and to eliminate ignorance and backwardness. Bad wedding and funeral customs have to be changed, and superstitious, feudal beliefs and practices must be eradicated. On condition that sound folkways are respected, these reforms should be carried out voluntarily by the masses themselves. Members of the Communist Party and the Communist Youth League should take the lead in this endeavor.

As a higher stage in human moral progress, socialist ethics naturally incorporate all the best elements in the various ethical systems and traditions developed throughout history and reject all decadent ideology and ethics. Feudal ideology is deep-rooted in our country. The concept of patriarchal clannishness, autocratic ways, the tendency to seek privileges and to form factions for selfish purposes, the view that men are superior to women--all these things that die hard in our social relations today are in essence manifestations of the evil influence of feudalism. Corrupt bourgeois ideology and the slavish mentality stemming from the historical conditions of a semicolonial society are also strongly present in China and often merge with feudal ideology. It is therefore a formidable long-term task to eradicate all these pernicious influences.

#### V. Intensify Education in Socialist Democracy, Legality and Discipline

A high degree of democracy is one of the great goals of socialism and also an essential manifestation of socialist culture and ideology in the life of the

state and of society as a whole. Historically, the concepts of democracy, liberty, equality and brotherhood took shape in the struggle of the rising bourgeoisie and the working people against feudal autocracy, marking a great mental emancipation of mankind. Although Marxism incorporated what was best in these bourgeois concepts, it is different from them in principle. In essence, bourgeois democracy serves to protect the capitalist system. By eliminating class oppression and exploitation, socialism has paved the way for the people to become masters of their own destiny and for democracy to advance to a new level in history. The major historical lessons to be drawn from China's socialist development are, first, that we should have mustered all our resources to develop economy, second, that we should have substantially extended democracy. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party has stressed that there can be no socialist modernization without democracy, that democracy must be institutionalized and codified in law and that the party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the construction and the laws of the state. The party has taken effective measures to further democratize its political life, the political life of the state, economic management and the life of the entire society. In urging reform of the political structure, as it has done of late, the Central Committee aims--always while upholding the leadership of the party and the people's democratic dictatorship--to reform and perfect the party and state leadership systems and to take a step further in extending socialist democracy and improving the socialist legal system, all for the purpose of facilitating socialist modernization. This will be a very complex task. After exhaustive investigation and study, the Central Committee will work out plans for accomplishing it, so that political reform may proceed step by step and with proper guidance.

Democracy cannot be separated from legality and discipline. Socialist legality, embodying the will of the people, safeguards their legitimate rights and interests, regulates their relations and sets norms to keep their activities within proper bounds, at the same time punishing all unlawful activities that endanger society. Legality dissociated from socialist democracy can in no sense be socialist legality, nor can democracy dissociated with socialist legality be socialist democracy. Unless we strengthen our socialist legal system based on the Constitution and strengthen work discipline while combating all practices that repress and undermine democracy, we shall not be able to ensure smooth economic development and the unimpeded progress of all-round reform; furthermore, we shall not be able to maintain long-term political stability in our country. Bourgeois liberalization, which means negating the socialist system in favor of capitalism, is in total contradiction to the people's interests and to the historical trend, and it is therefore firmly opposed by the masses.

Among the measures to perfect socialist democracy and legality, the most important is education. Starting with primary school pupils, we should carry out education among the people in democracy, legality and discipline, at the same time urging them to acquire high ideals, raise their ethical standards and always to behave honorably. We should steadily disseminate general knowledge of the law among all our people. This will make them aware of the way they are expected to conduct themselves as socialist



citizens and help them to understand their fundamental rights and duties. It will also acquaint them with the laws and regulations directly related to their respective jobs and other aspects of their lives, so that they can cultivate the fine habit of observing those laws and regulations. All citizens should abide by the Constitution of the state, and party members should, in addition, abide by the Constitution of the party. It should be an unshakable principle in our political and social life that everyone is equal before the law and everyone is equally bound to follow regulations. On no account shall anyone be allowed the privilege of flouting laws and regulations with impunity.

The people's democratic dictatorship is a powerful weapon for protecting the people and defending the four modernizations program. In accordance with the law, we should prosecute all hostile persons who sabotage our socialist system, punish all criminals including those guilty of economic crimes, and stamp out all unlawful activities detrimental to the people's interests, such as prostitution, drug addiction, gambling, and the dissemination of pornographic videotapes and publications.

#### VI. Universalize Education, Disseminate General and Scientific Knowledge and Raise People's Cultural Level

The development of education, science and culture is a prerequisite not only for material progress but also for ideological and ethical progress. In today's world, science is increasingly becoming a revolutionary driving force of history. In fact, it has become a main indicator of the level of progress a nation has attained. Thus, in our modernization drive it is especially important for us to pursue knowledge and to respect and utilize science. We should work hard to universalize education and to spread general and scientific knowledge throughout the country and to raise the people's cultural level.

Cultural activities and institutions--education, scientific research, literature and art, the press and publications, radio, cinema and television, health services, physical culture, management of cultural relics, libraries, museums and so on--all have an important role to play. We should work to greatly expand them in light of the conditions of our country's vast territory with uneven economic and cultural development. It is particularly important to expand education and scientific research. They are among the strategic priorities in our overall scheme for socialist modernization, because without them, not only can there be no socialist culture and ideology but there can be no sustained economic growth. The state must guarantee such expansion through proper policies and adequate funding; and encourage the forces in all sectors of society to give them support. All localities should map out specific plans for their cultural development and make sure that they fulfill the task in cultural development just like they fulfill their economic targets.

Because our cultural undertakings are socialist in character, the ultimate criterion for evaluating their ultimate success must be their social effect. In order to satisfy the extensive demands of the masses, we must try to

improve the quality of our intellectual products. We must restructure our system of management of cultural affairs and improve the related administrative work, so as to promote China's cultural development.

Educational, scientific and cultural workers who share the honorable but arduous tasks of fostering socialist culture and ideology, should understand the demand of them in this historical era and the people and try to raise their own ideological and ethical standards as well as their professional competence. Leading bodies at all levels should do organizational work and help intellectuals familiarize themselves with the many varied activities of the masses who are creating a new life. In construction and reform they should enlist as many intellectuals as possible as consultants and ask them to contribute their share to policy decisions. As for those competent people who have made contributions, we should give them vigorous support by helping to create the conditions necessary for their success. They should give moral and material encouragement to outstanding workers who create fine intellectual products and to other educational, scientific and cultural workers who distinguished themselves. In particular, the leading organizations should introduce awards to be given, as a high honor, to intellectual products that represent the highest scientific and cultural attainments of our nation. In every aspect of our work, we must make further efforts to ensure respect for knowledge and for highly trained people. The improvement of the status of intellectuals, the tapping of their potential, the close unity and common endeavor of workers, peasants and intellectuals will be our best guarantee of success in modernizing the country.

#### VII. The Guiding Role of Marxism in Building a Socialist Society With an Advanced Culture and Ideology

To modernize China and build a socialist society that is culturally and ideologically advanced, it is essential for us to adhere to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as our guiding theory. As the scientific world outlook of the working class and one of the great achievements in the history of civilization, Marxism is the theoretical basis of socialism and of the leadership given by the party. It is the most important component of socialist ideology and will serve as a guide in all our work to build a socialist culture and ideology. In all our efforts to encourage high ideals and standards of conduct, to raise our cultural level and to publicize democratic principles and the importance of legality, we have to depend on Marxism as our guiding theory and make new progress in Marxist research.

Marxism is a science that constantly enriches and develops itself in keeping with historical and scientific advance. Far from exhausting truth, it constantly opens up new avenues to truth in practice. The tremendous changes that have taken place and are taking place in China and the rest of the world bear witness to the immense vitality of Marxism and, at the same time, demonstrate that we must apply its basic principles and methods to the creative solution of new problems. The task of China's Marxist theoretical workers in the new era is to study the new circumstances and new problems that have arisen in the economic, political, cultural and social fields and the new experience we have gained in the course of socialist modernization

and reform, and to explore the laws that govern the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics. At the same time, they should investigate new developments and trends of thought in the contemporary world, assimilate those latest achievements of science that are useful to China and to make a summation of them. Instead of using fossilized concepts to interpret life, we must proceed from reality, make practice the sole criterion for verifying truth and jettison all those judgments and conclusions that have proved wrong in actual practice or out of keeping with changing realities. That is the only way to ensure that Marxism will keep abreast of social change and serve to guide it, and that is the way both to uphold Marxism and develop it, the two being integrated in our practice of revolution and construction. It would be impossible to uphold Marxism if we reject the overriding importance of practice and the need to observe reality from a development perspective and to bring forth new ideas. It is wrong to regard Marxism as a rigid dogma. It is also wrong to negate its basic tenets, view it as an outmoded theory and blindly worship bourgeois philosophies and social doctrines.

Socialism is still in the process of being realized, and our modernization and reform are complex tasks that call for innovative thinking. There are not--and cannot be--any ready-made formulas, and it is only natural that differences of opinion should often arise in both theoretical and practical work. We should therefore carry out the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom, a hundred schools of thought contend." We should encourage and support all bold explorative efforts and free debates that are based on scientific research, in order to stimulate research on Marxist theory, democratize our policy-making process and give our decisions a more scientific basis. In making policy decision and formulating plans, we should observe the principle of democratic centralism. When it comes to academic issues and issues relating to the arts, we must abide by the principles of the creative writing, freedom of discussion, and freedom of criticism and counter criticism. Those freedoms are essential if Marxism is to serve as a guide in academic work and the arts. They are likewise essential if we are to create an environment of political stability and unity and a democratic, harmonious atmosphere in which science and culture can thrive to serve the people and socialism.

Party cadres, especially those who are in leading positions or in charge of ideological work, should take the lead in studying Marxism. It is impossible to uphold and develop Marxism if we do not study it seriously. The masses, and particularly young people, should also be encouraged to study it. Education in basic Marxist tenets should be conducted in conjunction with education in the party's line, principles and policies, and with education concerning the current situation and our revolutionary traditions. It should also be combined with the study of history and the teaching of general and scientific knowledge, and be related to the current thinking of the masses. We must overcome the tendency to neglect Marxist studies. We should see to it that their content is not divorced from reality and that the methods of instruction are not dull and monotonous.

# VIII. Responsibilities of Party Organizations and Party Members in the Building of a Socialist Society With an Advanced Culture and Ideology

The working class is the leading class in our country. As its vanguard, the Communist Party of China is the force at the core leading the efforts to modernize China. In the building of a socialist society that is culturally and ideologically advanced, party organizations at all levels and their members are duty-bound first, to try to raise their own ideological level and, in particular, to improve the work style of the party; and second, to work hard and set a good example, thus helping to mobilize the people and advance the society-wide effort to build socialist culture and ideology.

Improvement of the work style of the party is crucial to its very survival. Now that the party is in power, the question of paramount importance is whether its members will wholeheartedly serve the people or behave like bureaucrats and overlords, riding roughshod over the people and abusing power for personal gain. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have brought order to all fields and begun party-wide consolidation. We have achieved a great deal in restoring and developing the party's fine traditions of integrating theory with practice, maintaining close contact with the people and conducting self-criticism. However, we must recognize that throughout the long process of reform, opening to the rest of the world and modernization, we shall have to continue resolutely the struggle to stamp out malpractices. Ideological education and efficient systems and institutions are very important for the cultivation of a desirable work style in the party. We must therefore take vigorous measures to reform and make perfect the party's organizational and work systems, strictly enforce its rules and institute effective systems of internal and popular supervision to monitor the work of leading cadres at all levels.

Party members, particularly those in leading positions, should always set an example for the masses by working diligently and being eager to learn and make progress, by renouncing empty talk in favor of practical work, by devoting themselves to the reform program and daring to innovate, by safeguarding the people's interests and leading them toward prosperity through honest labor, by observing the law and discipline, opposing malpractices of any kind and fighting against crime. In a word, they should make themselves models in the nation's effort to build a socialist society that is advanced both materially and culturally and ideologically.

Party organizations should meet regularly to evaluate their members' performance in these respects and discuss ways to improve it. They should commend the advanced members and encourage those who lag behind.

A new problem facing the whole party under the new circumstances is how to ensure that efforts are made to build a society that is advanced both materially and culturally and ideologically. All party organizations, from the central level to the grass roots, must devote more time and energy to leading the work of building socialist culture and ideology. They should explore effective methods, study policies and organize and coordinate the

efforts of all quarters. It won't do just to go through the motions: What is needed is solid work.

Ideological and political work is a guarantee of success in our economic and other undertakings. Now we must adapt such work to the requirements of the new period by exploring new possibilities. All cadres, whatever their trade or profession, should help solve problems directly related to the people. Leading cadres should regularly go among the workers, peasants and intellectuals and ask their views on how to straighten out the ideological and practical questions that are of most concern to them. We must build a contingent of well-trained ideological and political workers. We should care for them and help solve the problems they encounter in their work. While urging them to constantly enhance their political consciousness and their skills, we should encourage them to serve the people enthusiastically through efficient work so as to win popular trust and be able to play their role to the full.

The present resolution is designed to clarify certain questions and to formulate the guiding principles for building, in new historical conditions, a socialist society with an advanced culture and ideology. Party organizations in all departments, localities and institutions should apply these principles in light of their own specific conditions and work out concrete measures to be taken accordingly. For its part, the Central Committee will strengthen its guidance of the whole work.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army, an invulnerable great wall in the defense of our motherland and a major force in construction, is an Army with a high degree of political awareness, fine ethics and a strict sense of organization and discipline. It exerts a great moral influence on the whole nation. The Army should continue to raise its ideological level and take an active part in the nationwide endeavor to build a socialist society that is culturally and ideologically advanced. For this purpose, the Military Commission should draw up specific plans in accordance with the principles set forth in this resolution and with the conditions obtaining in the Army.

The Central Committee calls on all party organizations and all party comrades to study and discuss the present resolution, so that they will have a better understanding of it and reach agreement in their thinking. By so doing, we will be able to work more effectively in our great undertakings: The building of a socialist society that is advanced culturally and ideologically as well as materially, and the carrying out of all-round reform.

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## HAVE A CORRECT UNDERSTANDING OF LABOR SYSTEM REFORM

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[Speech by Comrade Hu Qili [5170 0796 4539] at a conference on 15 June 1986]

[Text] We will discuss at this conference the four regulations on labor system reform. As these four regulations involve a major reform of the labor system since the founding of the PRC, we should reach unanimity of understanding.

Here I would like to air my views on some problems of understanding which will possibly arise in the course of this reform and on how to strengthen ideological and political work.

### I. Have a Clear Orientation, Resolutely Carry Out Labor System Reform

China's existing labor system was formed in the 1950's. At that time, we carried out socialist transformation in the entire national economy, abolished the wage labor system of the old society, and established a new, socialist type of labor relationships on the basis of public ownership. However, due to a lack of experience in socialist construction and influenced by "leftist" guiding principles, an excessively concentrated economic structure gradually took shape in which management was exercised solely by administrative means. As a component of this economic structure, the labor system enabled the state to carry out "unified allocation" of laborers, that is, the state assigned laborers to enterprises by administrative means and made the labor relationships between laborers and enterprises fixed forever in the form of fixed labor. This system played a positive role in the initial stage of the founding of the PRC but began to display many of its shortcomings in the course of social development. As early as in 1956, Comrade Liu Shaoqi suggested reforming China's labor system. But his suggestion could not come about for various reasons. In the 1970's, to alleviate problems in employment and solve the difficulty in arranging work for workers' children, the methods of "substitution by children" and "internal recruitment" were introduced. These two methods once played the role of first-aid medicine, but people saw more and more of their shortcomings, which still remain unresolved until now.



One shortcoming of the existing labor system is that enterprises do not have adequate autonomy to select workers, and the other is that workers do not have much initiative in selecting enterprises or units. Details are as follows:

First, because enterprises do not have adequate autonomy to select workers, they find it difficult to recruit the workers they need and to transfer out those they do not need; they have to "retain" their redundant personnel. As a result, it is difficult for them to regulate their labor force according to the needs for developing production, to improve the organization of labor, and to strengthen labor discipline. All this affects work efficiency and economic results. A reference supplied by the Ministry of Coal Industry indicates that as a result of "internal recruitment," female coal miners account for 50 percent in most coal mines and 70 percent in some coal mines, thus causing a serious labor force shortage inside coal pits and a serious waste of labor outside coal pits. Enterprises' burden is becoming heavier. Some of the workers of enterprises have been "replaced by their children who are not qualified for the work." This has also added to the lowering of the quality of the workers rank. This does not correspond to the development of large-scale modern production, which is characterized by rapid technological progress and constant changes for the better in the technological basis of production. This necessitates the formation of a workers rank which can cope with technological progress. On the one hand, this rank should maintain relative stability so as to ensure the normal process of production; and on the other, it requires the labor force to have a certain degree of quality and a rational flow. Enterprises should increase or reduce their labor force according to the changes in production, recruiting suitable laborers and dismissing unsuitable ones. Without this autonomy, it is difficult for enterprises to enhance their quality, to improve their management, and to increase their vitality and competitiveness.

Second, under the existing labor system, workers do not have much initiative in selecting units to work for. One assignment determines a worker's position for his whole life. It is often the case that staff members and workers cannot fully display their talents because their jobs are not in line with their specialities. This is detrimental to improving their initiative and creativeness in work. In this sense, their democratic rights and position as masters of the country have not been completely realized. Marxists have long cherished a target for endeavor, that is, they want to develop material production and culture and to create conditions for the physical and intellectual development of members of the community so that they can enjoy a free choice of employment and extricate themselves from the confinement of certain jobs which have been assigned to them on a life-long basis according to the existing distribution of labor. Of course, this refers to the great target communist society should achieve. During the long period of socialist society, it is impossible for every member of the community to enjoy a free choice of employment. However, we should do our best to provide the necessary rights for laborers so that they can choose their jobs according to the needs of socialist construction and their individual qualifications and wish. In this way, they will bring their initiative and creativeness into full play.

Overcoming the above shortcomings will enable our labor system to cope with the development of large-scale modern production and of the planned commodity economy. This is the orientation of our labor system reform. Whereas the purpose of this reform is to give enterprises and laborers the right of "mutual selection," to rationally transfer and use the labor force, and to carry out the combination between the labor force and the means of production in a more rational and effective way. In this way, enterprises can constantly regulate their labor force and the organization of labor, bring the initiative and creativeness of their laborers into better play, improve their productivity and economic results, increase their vitality and competitiveness, and promote their production.

We should resolutely reform our labor system in this direction. Without reforming the labor system, an important link would be missing in the reform of the entire economic structure. Everyone has had much to say about the work and service of staff and workers of state-run enterprises. Why has this problem remained unresolved for a long time? Apart from lacking good ideological and political work, fundamentally speaking, one reason is the distribution system characterized by the egalitarianist practice of everybody "eating from the same big pot," and the other is the life-long tenure in the employment system characterized by everybody "having an iron rice bowl" in hand. The Chinese working people are clever and talented and have the good tradition of working hard and observing discipline. But the existing labor system suppresses and ruins this virtue instead of carrying it forward. There is a saying among the masses: "Eating from the same big pot will foster sluggards." The existing labor system and the egalitarianist distribution policy are divorced from the majority of the people and thus detrimental to the state, the enterprise, and the individual. The majority of workers object to the system and policy. Ours is a socialist country. Socialist construction relies on the initiative, wisdom, and creativeness of laborers. If laborers cannot bring their wisdom into full play, do not have a correct attitude toward their work and service, and lack obstinate and enterprising spirit, how can socialist construction be carried out smoothly? Therefore, it will not do not to reform the labor system.

A mentality has affected us for a long time that egalitarianism and the life-long tenure in leading posts are the strong points of the socialist system. This mentality is wrong. Providing labor opportunities and social guarantee for laborers is the strong point of the socialist system. The state Constitution stipulates that PRC citizens have the right and duty to work. On the one hand, the state will, by various means, create conditions for employment, strengthen work protection, improve working conditions, and improve remuneration and welfare on the basis of the development of production. On the other hand, to work is a glorious duty of every citizen. Laborers of state-run enterprises and urban and rural economic organizations should act as masters of the country in their work. We are aware that under socialist conditions, labor is still a means of life. Everyone who has the ability to work should earn a living by working. The state and enterprises will not and should not provide for sluggards. As we are developing the planned commodity economy, there is sure to be competition. With competition, there will be development and progress. This is an objective law. The superiority of the



socialist system manifests itself not only in protecting citizen's right to work, but also in "rewarding the diligent and punishing the lazy" as well as in providing excellent conditions for those who have a good attitude toward their work, are skillful in work, and have made great contributions to the community. In addition, it is permissible for a small number of people to resign their old jobs and look for new ones, with the aim of ensuring social stability, encouraging competition between enterprises and individuals, and maintaining the necessary pressure and impetus. When we speak of smashing the "iron rice bowls," however, we do not mean abolishing the means of livelihood but that what is in the rice bowls should be different, as the results of work of every laborer are different from each other. In short, the principle of distribution according to the work done and of more pay for more work should be put into effect. There should be different remunerations, but these differences should not be excessively prominent. This will encourage the advanced, bring into play the initiative of enterprises and individuals, and promote the social productive forces and corresponds with the long-term and fundamental interests of laborers. We should have a correct and sober understanding of this problem. A profound understanding of the shortcomings of egalitarianism and the life-long tenure will enable us to correctly understand the necessity and urgency for reforming the labor system and to enhance our consciousness in labor system reform.

Labor system reform is an important component of economic structural reform. Enlivening enterprises is an important link in economic structural reform whereas labor system reform is an important condition for enlivening enterprises. Labor system reform will produce an important impact on economic structural reform as a whole. Labor system reform has important bearings on both material and spiritual civilizations. This reform will help remove old ideas and habits and will produce positive influence on carrying forward socialist democracy and strengthening the workers' democratic rights. The situation in various fields is good this year, with stability in society and prices, increases in deposits, and alleviation of contradictions in urban and rural employment, which once posed a major problem for our society. The further invigoration of the urban and rural economies will provide favorable conditions for urban and rural employment as well as for the transfer of surplus labor in the rural areas. The practice of reform over the last few years has helped improve the people's understanding of reform and strengthen the bearing capacity of society. In view of the situation in the whole country, it is now time to reform the labor system, to abolish the system of "substitution" and "internal recruitment," and to exercise the labor contract system among newly recruited workers.

Through reforming the existing labor system, we will form a socialist labor system with Chinese characteristics which is full of vitality. Leading comrades at various levels should take economic structural reform and the four modernizations into account, have a clear orientation in reforms, and be resolute and confident in reforms.

## II. Have a Correct Understanding of the Reform of the Recruitment and Employment Systems

The four regulations concerning labor system reform focus on the reform of the recruitment and employment systems. In other words, we will openly recruit workers from society and abolish the methods of "substituting children" for their retired parents and of "internal recruitment"; newly recruited workers will work under the labor contract system. This is a major step in reforming the existing recruitment and employment systems. Leading comrades at all levels should have an explicit and profound understanding of this problem.

1. Implementing the labor contract system is good to improving the quality of the worker rank in such a manner for it becomes both stable and transferable. This corresponds with the needs for large-scale modern production and the development of the planned commodity economy.

The experiences of various countries in the world in developing their large-scale modern production and commodity economies have proved that rationally transferring the labor force and continuously improving its quality are the objective requirements for developing production as well as an objective law of large-scale socialized production. The labor force is required to remain relatively stable in the course of production. The better the capital and technological composition of a modern enterprise, the more stable the status of its workers and technicians in key technical positions. In the world today, enterprises in some developed countries including Japan generally do their best to maintain the stability of their staff and workers, because only when they remain relatively stable, will these enterprises be able to cope with technological progress and keep their superiority during competition. However, this stability is not realized by administrative means but in the course of their flow according to the development of production. The normal and rational stability of the labor force can take shape only through its normal and rational flow. This does not happen merely under the capitalist system but is a law which has emerged when material production has developed to a certain extent. But the difference is this: Under the capitalist system, the law plays its role blindly at the expense of the interests of the working class; under the socialist system, the state, taking into account the fundamental interests of the working class, uses this law to break the "unitary ownership" of the labor force through the necessary regulation by market mechanism so that the job positions of laborers fall in line with their specialities, the means of production can be rationally combined with laborers, and work results can be improved. With the implementation of the new recruitment and employment systems, enterprises and laborers can "select each other" under certain conditions, establish relatively stable labor relationships by signing or extending contracts, or help form the rational flow of the labor force by terminating contracts, thereby dialectically combining the stability and flow of the labor force. Therefore, we say that these new systems have vitality.

2. There is a fundamental difference between the socialist labor contract system and the capitalist wage contract system.

The labor contract system is a product of the commodity economy in its course of development. The socialist labor contract system is fundamentally different from the capitalist wage contract system. The capitalist wage contract system is based on capitalist private ownership. It serves as a consequence of selling and buying the labor force, which is a special commodity, between capitalists and workers, is a tool capitalists use to exploit the surplus value of workers, and reflects the relationship of hiring and being hired between the exploiter and the exploited. Signing labor contracts does not change the nature of the public ownership of the means of production, does not alter the principle of distribution according to work, and therefore does not reflect the relationship of hiring and being hired. As for workers who resign their jobs, we should provide them with relief funds and at the same time help them find new jobs. We should see the essence through the form and not confuse the socialist labor contract system with the capitalist wage labor system.

3. The labor contract system is beneficial to ensuring the position of workers being masters of society as well as to bringing into play their wisdom, initiative, and creativeness.

In our socialist society, laborers are masters of society and have the right to work and combine themselves with the means of production as well. However, any specific labor relationship takes shape under certain conditions, which include the specialties, interests, and physiological status of laborers; the need for the development of production in hiring units; and the need and policy of the state for developing the economy. In our socialist country, by taking these factors into full consideration and making proper arrangements for them, we can fully portray the position of laborers as masters of society.

Under the existing fixed labor system, one assignment determines the positions of staff and workers for their whole life and confines them to an enterprise or even a job. As a result, the problem of specialties being out of line with jobs has remained unresolved for a long time, and the right and duty of workers as masters of society have been unable to manifest itself fully. This is one of the important reasons why efficiency in our production is not high.

Under the labor contract system, on the one hand, laborers' right to work by using public means of production and their managerial and political rights are ensured in the legal form; on the other, the economic results they obtain from combining themselves with the means of production, as well as their responsibility and duty to do so are guaranteed in the legal form. This has given better expression to their position as masters of society and will help encourage them to do their best for socialist construction and the development of the productive forces. Insofar as the entire society is concerned, it will be good to training laborers in an all-round way and to fostering a new generation of labor.

4. Labor system reform will help us meet the needs for developing production and realizing social stability.

The fundamental task of socialism is to develop the social productive forces. Our economic structural reform is aimed at reforming some factors in production and the superstructure which are not suited to the development of the productive forces, on conditions that the socialist system adheres to. The most important criterion for judging whether this reform is a success is whether it is beneficial to the development of the social productive forces. The purpose of the labor system reform is to remove the shortcomings of the labor system which hamper the development of the productive forces and to develop the productive forces. By exercising the labor contract system, reforming the recruitment system, and dismissing staff members and workers who seriously violate discipline, we will be able to stimulate the initiative of staff members and workers, improve their quality and enterprise management, and attain better economic results. Everyone can see this point through the experiments over the last few years. There is worry that the four regulations will affect social stability. I am of the opinion that we should take full account of the difficulties, problems, and complications which may possibly arise in this reform. This will help us reduce mistakes in our work. This reform is to improve economic results, represents the basic interests of the people, and therefore enjoys extensive support from the people. This reform does not contradict stability and unity. However, we should also consider the strains of society, as this reform involves changes in the relationships of the people's interests. In the labor system reform plan we will implement this year, we take into account both the needs for developing the social productive forces and the social conditions for carrying out the reform, consider the interests of the state, the enterprise, and the laborer, and pay attention to reform measures. The four regulations coordinate with and complement each other. For example, exercising the labor contract system starts with the recruitment of new workers; the dismissal system will be enforced by enterprises only on a small number of people who have seriously violated discipline; social insurance will be provided for those workers who are temporarily waiting for new jobs, so as to guarantee their basic living conditions; and special policies will be adopted with regard to special trades and remote regions in the course of reforming the recruitment system. These measures and steps reflect the spirit of active reform and steady progress. So long as we do our work meticulously and well, we will be able to reduce social repercussions, ensure social stability and unity, and promote the development of the economy.

Some comrades have had misgivings on the implementation of the labor contract system in the course of reform experiments. This is because reforms have not been carried out in close coordination with each other, apart from a lack of a correct understanding of reforms. A prominent suggestion is that the reform of the cadre system should be carried out simultaneously with the reform of the recruitment and employment systems. This suggestion is right. Everyone should be made to understand that we are now carrying out reform experiments on the cadre system. We are trial-implementing the office tenure system among party and state leading cadres at various levels; the engagement system among cadres at the township levels; and the system of

electing, recruiting, and engaging directors (managers) in enterprises for a term in office. We will make further efforts to continue these reform experiments. Cadre system reform involves organizational reform, and organizational reform is closely related with economic structural reform. Therefore, this is very complicated and requires in-depth study and experimenting. We should streamline administration and overcome bureaucratism. For this reason, the department concerned is busy working out a general plan for cadre system reform and organizational reform, and organizational reform experiments are being carried out in 16 medium-sized cities.

In exercising the labor contract system, we should use foreign experience for reference. Not only capitalist but some socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, and Mongolia, also exercise the labor contract system. We should have a wider perception, emancipate our minds, use foreign experience for reference, carry out explorations and reforms, and establish a labor system suited to our country's specific conditions.

### III. Strengthen Leadership, Carry Out Ideological Education and Propaganda Work Well

The current labor system reform involves the interests of the masses, requires the strict implementation of policies, and embraces difficult work in various fields. Therefore, we should closely cooperate with each other in this reform and should not regard it as a matter merely concerning labor and personnel departments.

First, party committees and governments at all levels should assign special persons to take charge of this reform, for the purpose of strengthening leadership.

Because labor system reform will be carried out step by step, the original employment system will be retained in the course of the implementation of the labor contract system among newly recruited workers. Therefore, a situation will emerge in which two types of employment system will coexist and new problems will arise. The abolition of the system of "substitution by workers' children" and "internal recruitment" will possibly arouse repercussions in the minds of some veteran workers. The improvement of the labor contract system relies on the reforms of the cadre system, the wage system, the social guarantee system, and the housing system. In the course of implementing the new system, all types of labor disputes and unexpected problems will certainly arise. Various localities are therefore required to implement the relevant policies and measures in the light of their specific conditions and resolutely follow the arrangements, plans, and steps made by the central authorities and the State Council. In this reform, we should be resolute, take steady steps, make meticulous plans and arrangements, and give detailed guidance.

In the course of reforms over the past few years, a small number of cadres and party members disregard party spirit, avail themselves of loopholes in reform measures, seek personal gain under the pretext of reform, engage in

unhealthy practices, and even violate discipline and law, thereby discrediting reforms and adding difficulties to reforms. There has been a turn for the better in party conduct and party discipline since the beginning of this year. In the course of labor system reform, we should continue to straighten out party conduct and strengthen party and administrative discipline. We should prevent the recurrence of bad practices such as "retiring ahead of time" and "doing a rush job of replacing veteran cadres," and prevent some party members and cadres from abusing the right of recruitment for recruiting their own relatives and friends, from taking bribes, and from using the right of dismissal to retaliate against those who criticize them. Party committees and discipline inspection departments at all levels should set a good example, be responsible in their work, exercise strict checks and supervision, and deal with the above problems strictly according to party and administrative discipline. Of course, we should also prevent a small number of staff members and workers from making trouble and hampering the normal process of production.

Second, it is necessary to strengthen ideological education and propaganda work.

Economic structural reform is a profound revolution. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has called it "China's second revolution." Every reform involves a change in people's ideas and the adjustment of their interests. Labor system reform will also touch on the traditional ideas and old habits of people. People will have different mental reactions to this reform. Therefore, strengthening education and propaganda work has become a matter of particular importance. The first point is that leaders at various levels, party members, and cadres should have a higher degree of understanding and reach unanimity of understanding. To carry out ideological education well, the central authorities are formulating a propaganda and education program on labor system reform. All localities, trades, and units should organize the masses in studying labor system reform and should explicitly explain the necessity for this reform. They should carry out meticulous, convincing ideological and political work in accordance with the ideological problems of their staff and workers, so that labor system reform is understood and supported by them and becomes their conscious action. The second point is to extensively propagate the purpose and significance of labor system reform by all propaganda means according to the propaganda and education program of the central authorities. Propaganda and education should be carried out among staff members and workers as well as their families. Propaganda departments should conscientiously sum up the experiences of factories, mines, and enterprises which are bold in carrying out this reform but should, however, prevent one-sidedness in propaganda work. The third point is to organize theoretical and practical workers in applying basic Marxist theories to economic structural reform, in summing up the experiences and problems in reforms, in improving labor system reform, in exploring, studying, and explaining a specific mode concerning the socialist labor system suited to China's conditions, and in providing scientific proof for theoretical questions arising in labor system reform, so as to base the reform on a scientific theory and in the meantime enrich and develop Marxism in the course of the reform.



Third, it is necessary to coordinate the work of various departments.

The experience in labor system reform experiments over the past few years and the implementation of the current regulations indicate that labor system reform requires not only the efforts of labor and personnel departments, but also coordination and cooperation between financial, taxation, monetary, public security, and judicial departments; Youth League organizations; women's associations; departments in charge of enterprises; and propaganda departments. After this meeting, labor and personnel departments should closely cooperate with other departments in working out reform measures and methods. Discipline inspection commissions, public security organs, and judicial departments at all levels should resolutely observe party discipline, laws, and regulations in protecting the rights and interests of staff members, workers, cadres, and enterprises, and should seriously deal with party members, cadres, staff members, workers, and enterprises violating laws and discipline and undermining the normal production process and social order, so as to ensure the smooth carrying out of reforms.

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## A MAJOR EVENT THAT HAS A BEARING ON THE RISE OR DECLINE AND THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF SOCIALISM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 86 pp 16-18

[Editorial]

[Text] The 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee adopted the "CPC Central Committee Resolution on the Guiding Principles for Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization." Like the decision on economic structural reform adopted by the 3d Plenary Session of the Central Committee, this resolution also proceeds from the realities of our country and applies and develops the basic principles of Marxism. On the basis of the 12th CPC National Congress' strategic decision of building material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization at the same time and the spirit of the National Conference of Party Delegates in 1985, the resolution sums up the experience in recent years and systematically expounds the basic issue of building socialist spiritual civilization in light of the requirements of the development of all-round reform. From the high level of the overall interests of our socialist modernization cause, the resolution further ascertains the strategic position of socialist spiritual civilization, accurately points out the basic guiding principles and basic tasks for building socialist spiritual civilization, and profoundly proves the guiding role of Marxism in the building of socialist spiritual civilization. This programmatic document fully embodies the correct orientation of adhering to the four basic principles and promoting reform and opening up. Seriously studying and implementing this document will certainly give a great impetus to and exert far-reaching influence on advancing the cause of building socialism with Chinese characteristics in an all-round way.

The resolution emphatically points out: "The general program for our country's socialist modernization construction is: Taking economic development as the key link, firmly carrying on economic and political structural reforms, firmly strengthening the building of spiritual civilization, and making sure that these are coordinated and mutually complementary." This general program was formulated after we underwent many twists and turns, paid heavy costs, and summed up both positive and negative experiences. It will be a general guideline for our work in all fields for a rather long period to come. Only by working in line with this general program can we smoothly realize the struggle objective by the end of this century, as the 12th CPC



National Congress called for, and can we build ours into a socialist modern country with a high degree of civilization and democracy. All comrades in our party should unify their thinking and action on the basis of this general program and do effective work to develop spiritual civilization while concentrating on economic construction and doing a good job in structural reforms.

In recent years, we have made substantial progress in building spiritual civilization and have created a new situation in many fields. This is the mainstream. At the same time, we should also notice that many things in our cultural and ideological construction are still not suited to the development of our socialist modernization construction and the situation of reform and opening up, and that many problems have yet to be seriously settled. There are many reasons for such problems, but the main reason is that many comrades have not yet fully understood the strategic position of spiritual civilization construction, the urgency, arduousness, and protracted nature of this work, and in particular, the fact that building spiritual civilization is an important matter which has a bearing on the rise or decline and the success or failure of the socialist cause.

Over a long period in the past, we neglected the development of productive forces, and this caused great losses to our party, our state, and our people. The great historical achievement of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee was its decision on resolutely shifting the focus of our work to economic development and modernization construction. Without this decision, we would not have today's good situation. By concentrating on economic construction, we do not mean that spiritual civilization is not important. The development of socialist spiritual civilization under the guidance of Marxism is an important characteristic of socialist society. Material poverty is not socialism; spiritual poverty is not socialism either. Achieving a high degree of civilization and democracy is a great objective in our efforts to build socialism. A high degree of civilization includes a high degree of material civilization, as well as a high degree of spiritual civilization. A high degree of democracy is also an important embodiment of socialist spiritual civilization in our state and social life. The work of building spiritual civilization includes using a common ideal to mobilize and unite the people of all nationalities, establishing and carrying out socialist morals, strengthening socialist democracy and the socialist legal system, conducting discipline education, and popularizing and improving education, science, and culture throughout the nation. Its fundamental task is to cultivate socialist citizens with a lofty ideal, moral integrity, good education conditions, and a sense of discipline in light of the requirements of socialist modernization so as to raise the moral and cultural quality of the entire Chinese nation. To build such spiritual civilization, we first need the development of material civilization, which provides material conditions and practical experience. At the same time, spiritual civilization in turn provides a motive force and intellectual support for material civilization development and provides an effective ideological guarantee for the correct orientation of material civilization development.

Under the new situation of all-round reform and opening up to the outside world, it is more urgent and important to step up the building of spiritual civilization. Our practice since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee shows that reform and opening up not only have brought about economic prosperity, but have also given a great impetus to the building of spiritual civilization. With the changes in the ownership structure and forms of operation, the reforms of the management and distribution systems, the development of the commodity economy and business competition, and the expansion of domestic and foreign economic intercourse, people have also enlivened their thoughts, broadened their vision, raised their enthusiasm in learning science and cultural knowledge, and increased their creativity and initiative. There are many positive changes in human relations, in life style, in moral and values, and in mentalities. While fully confirming this, we must also notice that reform and opening up have also brought about new conditions and questions to the construction of spiritual civilization and have put higher requirements on it.

As reform is an extensive, profound, and protracted social revolution on a large scale, it will inevitably touch and adjust people's interests, and will inevitably bring about sharp contradictions with outmoded traditional concepts and habitual forces. Because feudal society lasted for a very long time in our country, feudalist ideology still has a deep influence. The patriarchal clan mentality, the special privilege mentality, the autocratic work style, the closed mentality, the idea of looking down on commerce and science, and the lack of a tradition of democracy and rule by law all obstruct reform and opening up. Because our country also experienced more than 100 years of semicolonial and semifeudal society, the servile mentality and decadent bourgeois ideology also have a deep influence. They may join hands with the decadent feudal ideology to maintain their influence. In the course of opening up, external capitalist ideology may also make inroads into our country. Therefore, it is unavoidable that such ideas and deeds as benefiting oneself at the expense of other people and the public interest, worshipping money, using one's power and public office to pursue private gains, and even deceiving and blackmailing may appear, and that some people may blindly worship the philosophies and social theories of the bourgeoisie. All this also obstructs reform and opening up. We must remove these obstacles to reform and opening up through building spiritual civilization so as to promote the smooth and healthy development of reform and opening up.

All-round reform is a brand-new and creative cause in a large country with a population of 1 billion people, so its scale and depth are unprecedented. We must have the explorative spirit and pioneering courage to develop reform theory and practice. All-round reform needs the support of the whole people. Therefore, we should cultivate the mentalities, ideas, and culture which are suited to the needs of reform among the people, so as to arouse their enthusiasm for participating in the reform. All-round reform also needs a united, harmonious, and orderly social environment; a further expanded socialist democracy; and a sound socialist legal system so that the people can work with full cooperation and with unity of purpose. All this can be realized only through strengthening our spiritual civilization.

To build socialist civilization, we must adhere to the guiding principles of Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought. Each stage of human history has its special spiritual civilization; that under the guidance of Marxism is spiritual civilization of the socialist era. Marxism itself is a great achievement of all mankind's spiritual civilization, and it is also the scientific world outlook of the working class. Only by adhering to the guidelines of Marxism can we correctly appraise and analyze foreign culture so as to assimilate its valuable essence and reject its dross.

Only thus can we correctly solve various new questions in the course of reform, opening up, and modernization and use Marxism to overcome the influence of the decadent capitalist and feudalism ideology, rather than using feudalism to oppose capitalism or using capitalism to oppose feudalism. In order to adhere to Marxism, our party members and cadres, especially leading cadres and cadres responsible for ideological work, must take the lead in seriously studying Marxism and put what they advocate into practice. They should set an example in maintaining a good party style and at the same time, use their exemplary actions to influence the whole society and make painstaking efforts to promote spiritual civilization.

Our spiritual civilization construction must be suited to the new and higher requirements of reform and opening up so as to create opinion, values, cultural conditions, and a social environment favorable to socialist modernization and all-round reform; to effectively resist the influence of the decadent capitalist and feudalism ideology; to prevent the danger of losing our bearing; and to arouse the enthusiasm and creativity of the people of all nationalities to build a socialist modern power through efforts of several generations. Whether we can do this or not is a major historic test for us. It is certain that we can successfully pass this test, because our people support the four basic principles; support reform and opening up; firmly believe in the correctness of the line, principles, and policies formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee; and are united closely around the party. Under the leadership of the party, so long as we can rely on the joint efforts of the people and continuously advance our spiritual civilization, which can promote our modernization cause, all-round reform, opening up to the outside world, and maintenance of the four basic principles, we will certainly be able to achieve our great objective.

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## THE RAISING AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE QUESTION OF SOCIALIST SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

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[Article by Liu Wusheng [0491 2976 3932]]

[Text] In order to gain a deeper understanding of the guideline of the "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Guiding Principles for Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization," the programmatic document adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, it is necessary to study again a series of important expositions made by the central authorities and the main central leading comrades on building socialist spiritual civilization.

### I

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party conscientiously summed up historical experiences and lessons and ascertained that the principal contradiction of our society in the current stage is the contradiction between the daily increasing material and cultural needs of the people and the backward social production. Proceeding from the strategic and overall situation of the socialist modernization drive, which is centered on economic construction, it made a timely proposal that it is necessary to strengthen the building of spiritual civilization while strengthening the building of material civilization. This is a major policy decision of our party aimed at properly resolving this principal contradiction. Strengthening the building of spiritual civilization is an important aspect of this effort, because it can gradually satisfy the cultural needs of the people and can promote the development of material civilization and provide an ideological guarantee for its correct orientation.

The task of building socialist spiritual civilization was first put forth by Ye Jianying in his speech at a celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the PRC, which was endorsed by the 4th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in September 1979. In this speech Ye Jianying pointed out: "While building a high degree of material civilization, we must also raise the standards of education, science, culture, and health of the Chinese nation, foster a lofty revolutionary ideal and revolutionary morality, and develop a noble, rich, and colorful cultural life. We must

also build a high degree of spiritual civilization." In this speech, a high degree of socialist democracy and a perfect socialist legal system, and a high degree of socialist material civilization and a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization are definitely and perfectly summarized as major targets and indispensable conditions for achieving the goal of the four modernizations. It was the first and general conception of our party on the targets for China's socialist modernization drive.

At the central work conference held in December 1980, the building of spiritual civilization became a major subject for discussion and study. In his speech entitled "Implement the Principle of Readjustment and Ensure Stability and Unity," Deng Xiaoping made an important exposition on the building of spiritual civilization: 1) "The socialist China we are building should have a high degree of spiritual civilization as well as a high degree of material civilization." "How can we build socialism without a high degree of spiritual civilization, without communist thinking and morality?" 2) On the main content of spiritual civilization he said: "When I speak of a high degree of spiritual civilization, I refer not only to education, science, and culture (which are of course indispensable) but also to communist thinking, ideals, beliefs, morality, and discipline, as well as a revolutionary stand and revolutionary principles, comradely relations among people, and so on." 3) The more firmly the policies of reform and opening up to the outside world are carried out, the more must the party members, especially senior leading cadres, "cherish communist ideology and morality and act according to them." 4) "We must continue to criticize and oppose surviving feudal influences on ideology and politics both inside and outside the party, and we must continue to formulate and improve laws and regulations based on socialist principles in order to eliminate those influences. At the same time, we should criticize and oppose the tendency to worship capitalism and to advocate bourgeois liberalization. We should criticize and oppose the decadent bourgeois ideas of doing everything solely for profit, seeking advantage at the expense of others, and always putting money first. We should criticize and oppose anarchism and ultra-individualism." This speech is a very important document on building spiritual civilization issued after the 4th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

## II

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," which was adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in June 1981, made an overall summary and profound exposition on the correct path for socialist modernization which had been gradually mapped out. One of the 10 points of this summary is that "under socialism there must be a high degree of spiritual civilization." In this document, the objective of our party's struggle in the new historical period is summarized as "building a modern and powerful socialist country with a high degree of democracy and a high degree of civilization." It also puts forth the following basic principles and demands for building spiritual civilization: affirming the important position and roles of education, science, culture, and intellectuals in the construction of socialist modernization; strengthening the study of Marxist theories, both Chinese

and foreign history and reality and the study of various branches of social sciences and natural sciences; strengthening and improving ideological and political work and resisting the influence of decadent bourgeois ideology and surviving feudal ideology; and fostering the spirit of patriotism, which puts the interests of the motherland above everything else, and the pioneer spirit of utter devotion to the construction of modernization. For the first time, these expositions were formally confirmed in a resolution adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

After the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the central leading comrades made some further explanations on the question of building spiritual civilization. In his government work report delivered at the Fourth Session of the Fifth NPC, Zhao Ziyang pointed out: "Only by building a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization while building a high degree of material civilization can we ensure the steady development of the national economy and correct orientation for the building of material civilization." The report also summarized the main contents of building spiritual civilization.

In April 1982, at a meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee to discuss the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council on Combating Serious Economic Crime," Deng Xiaoping made a speech on combating economic crime, in which the building of socialist spiritual civilization was for the first time rendered as one of the "four essential guarantees" for keeping to the socialist road. Later in his speech at a forum of the Central Military Commission and opening speech at the 12th CPC National Congress, he further emphasized the four major tasks, including the building of socialist spiritual civilization, saying that they "are the most important guarantee for keeping to the socialist road and concentrating our efforts on the modernization drive." Thus, the position and role of the building of spiritual civilization in the entire socialist construction of modernization were profoundly expounded, and the people's understanding of the great significance of spiritual civilization was deepened.

### III

The 12th CPC National Congress made an overall exposition on the building of spiritual civilization and further raised the question to a higher plane of strategic policy having an important bearing on the success and failure of the socialist cause.

1. In his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "From the time that the party shifted the focus of its work to the modernization of China's economy, the Central Committee has proclaimed on many occasions that while working for a high degree of material civilization, we must strive to build a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization. This is a strategic principle for building socialism. The history of socialism and the present situation in China both tell us that the success or failure of socialism depends on whether or not we adhere to this principle."



2. The report expounded the dialectical relationship between material civilization and spiritual civilization: "Material civilization provides an indispensable foundation for socialist spiritual civilization which, in its turn, gives a tremendous impetus to the former and ensures its correct orientation. Each is the condition and objective of the other." This exposition tells us that in the socialist period, material civilization provides material conditions for the development of spiritual civilization. Therefore, we must firmly take the economic construction as the center and concentrate our efforts on the four modernizations. On the other hand, since spiritual civilization also gives a tremendous impetus to material civilization and ensures its correct orientation, in strategy, we must regard it as a long-term and common task for the whole party and the whole country, and in our work, we must grasp both civilizations.

3. The report says in a creative manner that "socialist spiritual civilization constitutes an important characteristic of the socialist system and a major aspect of its superiority." This is the first thesis in the history of Marxism and the history of socialist construction, which lays a solid theoretical foundation for the guiding principle of building spiritual civilization.

4. When expounding the significance and role of spiritual civilization the report sharply pointed out: "If the great task of building socialist spiritual civilization guided by communist ideology is overlooked, people will fall into a one-sided understanding of socialism and direct their attention exclusively to the building of material civilization or even only to the pursuit of material gains. In that case, we will not be able to safeguard the socialist orientation of China's modernization, and our socialist society will lose its ideals and objectives, its spiritual motivation and fighting will, lose the ability to resist the inroads of corrupt influences, and even become distorted and degenerate."

5. The report pointed out: "Roughly speaking, socialist spiritual civilization consists of two aspects, the cultural and the ideological, which permeate and promote each other." Thus, we are required to inspire more and more members of our society through strengthening cultural and ideological work to become citizens with lofty ideals, moral integrity, education, and a sense of discipline, and to raise the ideological, scientific, and cultural quality of the entire Chinese nation.

6. The report also pointed out: "Building socialist spiritual civilization is a task for the whole party and a common task for all walks of life." Therefore: 1) Ideological education in the party is the pillar of the building of spiritual civilization in the whole society, and party members should, first, play an exemplary role morally and ideologically. 2) Ideological and political workers, and those engaged in educational, scientific, and cultural work are shouldering especially heavy responsibilities in building socialist spiritual civilization. It is necessary to organize a mighty contingent of militant ideological workers able to persuade and act as a magnet for others. 3) Leading cadres in the economic field at various levels should concern themselves not only with the development of production but also with the

building of socialist spiritual civilization. 4) Every working person should contribute his share to the building of socialist spiritual civilization.

The important expositions made by the 12th CPC National Congress on the building of socialist spiritual civilization reflect our party's great efforts in exploring the theory and practice of scientific socialism, and in raising the party's understanding of building spiritual civilization to a new and higher level.

#### IV

In order to suit the demands of the development of China's construction, reform, and opening up to the outside world, the CPC National Conference of Party Delegates, which was held in September 1985, emphasized, from a higher plane of giving full play to the superiority of socialism and ensuring the correct orientation for the development of the socialist cause, the necessity of attaching further importance to and strengthening the building of socialist spiritual civilization.

At this conference Deng Xiaoping pointed out: 1) "Over the past few years, production has been promoted, but the pernicious influences of capitalism and feudalism have not yet been reduced to the lowest possible degree. Some of these influences, which vanished for a long time after liberation, have even revived. If we do not make up our minds to resolutely and quickly change this situation, how can we give full play to the superiority of socialism? How can we effectively educate our people and later generations?" 2) "Without strengthening the building of spiritual civilization, our efforts to build material civilization will also be undermined and will follow a roundabout way. We cannot achieve victory in our revolution and construction if we only rely on material conditions. In the past, no matter how weak our party was and no matter how great the difficulties we encountered, our party always had great fighting power. This is because that we have strong faith in Marxism and communism. As we have common ideals, we also have iron discipline. This is our true superiority whether in the past, at present, or in the future." 3) "At present, the first task for us in building spiritual civilization is to achieve a fundamental improvement in our party style and the general mood of society." 4) "We must resolutely oppose any attempts to publicize bourgeois liberalization, or the capitalist road."

In his closing speech at the same conference Li Xiannian said that it is necessary to link the building of spiritual civilization with "the structural reform and the practical work in promoting modernization, so that our party's ideological and political work can be further developed."

At the CPC National Conference of Party Delegates and the sixth plenary meeting of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection immediately following the conference, Chen Yun emphasized the importance and urgency of strengthening the building of spiritual civilization. He said: "There does exist, and widely exist, the phenomenon of neglecting the building of spiritual civilization. The capitalist philosophy, which is characterized by 'everyone for himself and let the devil take the hindmost,' and servility,



which disregards national dignity and human dignity, are all factors jeopardizing the socialist cause." "In the party, if the building of spiritual civilization and ideological and political work are neglected, there cannot be a good party style; in society, if the building of spiritual civilization and the education in communist ideas are neglected, there cannot be a good social mood. In short, if socialist spiritual civilization is neglected, our cause will possibly deviate from Marxism, from the socialist road."

In January this year, following the National Conference of Party Delegates, a conference of cadres of central organs was held, which called on the central party, government, and military organs to set a good example for the whole country. This was a concrete step taken by the central authorities in order to implement the spirit of the National Conference of Party Delegates and to effectively strengthen the building of spiritual civilization and correct the party style and social mood. In his speech at the conference, Hu Yaobang called on people to develop the spirit of the Foolish Old Man, strengthen the building of spiritual civilization, and overcome unhealthy tendencies. He said: "The spirit of the Foolish Old Man is a precious spiritual wealth of the Chinese nation and a fine tradition of our revolutionary rank. Provided we develop this spirit, we will surely be able to open up a new prospect and continuously move forward."

Since the conference, the party committees and discipline inspection committees at various levels have firmly grasped the building of spiritual civilization and the improvement of the party style and social mood in accordance with the requirements of the central authorities and have achieved great successes in handling major and serious criminal cases. The party style and social mood have also been gradually improved.

## V

The "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Guiding Principles for Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization," which was adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, inherits and develops a series of basic viewpoints of our party on the building of spiritual civilization. To suit the demands of the development of the current economic and political situation, it lays emphasis on the question of gaining a better understanding of the overall situation and the guiding principles in the new situation, proceeding from the high plane of strategy for the overall socialist modernization drive. The resolution will certainly produce a far-reaching impact on guiding and promoting the building of socialist spiritual civilization and ensuring the smooth development of the socialist modernization drive. Therefore, when we study and implement the resolution, we must firmly grasp this central idea and gain a deeper and clearer understanding of its guideline and basic ideas.

We are convinced that encouraged by the spirit of the resolution and under its guidance, the building of socialist spiritual civilization will certainly be promoted and will advance side by side with the building of material civilization and that we will certainly achieve new successes and

reach a new height. The flower of socialist spiritual civilization will surely blossom on the vast land of our motherland, and the Chinese nation will stand like a giant in the world with a high degree of civilization and prosperity.

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## HOW WE IMPLEMENT THE SYSTEM OF SELECTING AND EMPLOYING LEADING CADRES FOR A FIXED TERM OF OFFICE

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[Article by Yu Dehai [5713 1795 3189], vice secretary of the Shekou Industrial Zone CPC Committee]

[Text] The Shekou Industrial Zone, which is a component part of the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone, was previously a deserted beach with barren hills. Independently developed and run since July 1979 by the Hong Kong-based China Merchants Steam Navigation Company of the Ministry of Transport, it has now become a burgeoning seaport town, employing more than 17,000 workers and staff members, 80 percent of whom are workers directly engaged in production. In 1985 the gross value of industrial production was 760 million yuan and the total value of export goods was 530 million yuan. It also achieved a balance between foreign exchange receipts and payments, with some to spare. Starting to recover its capital in 1981, the industrial zone has improved its economic results year by year. The total capital recovered in 1985 was 123 million yuan, representing a rate of recovery of 38 percent (not including tax revenue from the Shekou customs house). In the first half of this year, given a sharp fall in the price of oil on the international market, the appreciation of the Japanese yen, the prevalence of trade protectionism, and a continued slump in the world economy, the Shekou Industrial Zone still registered a continued increase in production. With the development of production, the living standards of the workers and staff members have gradually improved. Party work style and social conduct are relatively good. There have not been any viciously criminal cases since the development and construction of the industrial zone 6 years ago.

In building the Shekou Industrial Zone, we have upheld the "three predominances" (the predominance of industry in relation to industrial setups, the predominance of imported foreign capital in relation to construction funds, and the predominance of export products in relation to manufactured goods) and the principle of vigorously serving the prospecting and exploitation of Nan Hai oil. Moreover, we have conducted bold and prudent experiments and reforms in various aspects, such as the management, cadre, employment, wages, and housing systems, the methods of carrying out engineering projects, the system of finance in enterprises, and the promotion of a socialist democratic procedure. The implementation of the system of selecting and employing leading cadres for a fixed term of office is one of the important reforms.

Implement the System of Inviting Applications for a Job and Admitting Applicants by Examination in Order To Lay a Foundation for the Implementation of the System of Selecting and Employing Leading Cadres for a Fixed Term of Office

Soon after the construction of the industrial zone started, the zone party committee realized that, as far as the whole nation was concerned, Shekou was only "a drop in the ocean" and that, in order to make contributions to the people of the whole country, this tiny area should concentrate on conducting constant experiments and reforms. First of all, we eliminated the previous, long-standing malpractices in the establishment of institutions and in the cadre system which did not suit economic development and, in line with the principles of simple and efficient administration and high efficiency, set up institutions and appointed personnel according to actual needs. The first measure we adopted after cadres were transferred to the industrial zone was to freeze their administrative ranks at the original bureau, department, or section level. The original administrative ranks were only taken as a reference and not as a basis for appointment. In the industrial zone we employed people according to their abilities rather than practicing the system of life tenure for leading cadres. We boldly appointed a good number of engineers and technicians who possessed both political integrity and managerial and organizational abilities to leading bodies at various levels.

In 1980 a system under which the director or manager assumes full responsibility under the leadership of the board was instituted in foreign-owned enterprises and joint ventures. Under this system, a director (manager) is engaged by the board while the other managerial personnel of the enterprise are appointed by the director (manager). This practice has fundamentally changed the passive situation of employing units. The personnel department of the industrial zone has worked together with employing units and, with the plans submitted by the employing units and the forecasts of the personnel department as a guide, has broken with the usual practice and adopted a new employment system. They rely mainly on the practice of inviting applications through newspapers, to be supplemented with self-recommendations or recommendations. In line with the principle of making assessments and selecting and recruiting those who are superior, they enlist the services of able people with aspirations and foresight. An unemployed young man from Guangzhou, who persisted in studying independently, succeeded in obtaining 11 diplomas for different courses from a television university. Of the 240 job applicants in Guangzhou, he ranked first in total marks. Since he also qualified in the interview and organizational inspection, we made an exception of him and recruited him to the industrial zone, giving him the same pay as a university graduate.

To meet the needs of building the special zone, we urgently needed a good number of cadres who are in the prime of life and who have a relatively high cultural level. They should not only have technical skills but also understand modern management and be able to adapt themselves to the needs of developing an export-oriented economy. In order to train such a contingent of cadres, we decided to take the road of training able people on our own.

Initiated by Comrade Yuan Geng, secretary of the zone party committee, the industrial zone ran the first enterprise management training class in 1981. The students were recruited from among university or college graduates who had 2-3 years of practical experience. The period of schooling was 1 year. In an effort to improve their pattern of knowledge, the training class paid attention to giving instructions in the latest achievements in the world's scientific and technological development and offered more than 10 courses, including enterprise management, international trade, marketing, and foreign languages. We also took advantage of our favorable geographical conditions of being adjacent to Hong Kong and Macao. On the one hand, we organized experts and scholars from abroad and from Hong Kong and Macao to give lectures; on the other hand, we organized the students to go on field or inspection trips to Hong Kong to study the market conditions, information, and management in Hong Kong and foreign countries. Since 1981 we have run the training class once a year and the number of classes has increased from one to four, offering different specialized subjects. The industrial zone also vigorously supports scientific and technological, cultural, and art organizations in running various spare-time training classes.

We uphold the system of inviting applications and recruiting cadres by examination and increased investment in intellectual resources, thus laying a good foundation for implementing the system of selecting and employing leading cadres for a fixed term of office. To date, 57.2 percent of the more than 14,000 workers and staff members in the industrial zone have general knowledge at or above the senior middle school level. Sixty-five percent of the 2,100 cadres are university or college graduates, and they plus graduates from secondary technical schools make up 81 percent of the cadres. At present, over one-third of the managers and directors employed by the companies and offices directly under the management committee have received training in the zone's training classes.

#### The Implementation of the Fixed-Term Cadre Election System in the Management Committee of the Industrial Zone Becomes a New Starting Point in the Reform of the Cadre System in Our Zone

Under the leadership of the party committees of Shenzhen city and the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company, the first management committee of the industrial zone adopted a fixed-term cadre appointment system, fixing the cadres' term of office at 2 years. The second management committee adopted a fixed-term cadre election system, fixing the cadres' term of office at 2 years. This represents a reform. In February 1983, in a briefing to Comrade Hu Yaobang, who made an inspection tour of Shekou, Comrade Yuan Geng said: It is extremely important for the masses to supervise cadres and to have the right to elect and dismiss them. Since we conduct reforms on an experimental basis, will it be feasible to hold a confidence vote once every 16 months? If all people and the staff in the industrial zone cast a vote of no confidence in more than half of the management committee members, a new management committee should be elected. If more than half the people cast a vote of no confidence in a leading cadre, he should step down and a new leading cadre should be elected. If a leading body is openly and directly elected by the people by voting, it will care for the masses, be

eager to meet their needs, and genuinely do something good for them. Since the masses can elect a cadre, they can also dismiss him. If the masses have the right to elect and supervise cadres, I believe we can change the work style of cadres. Comrade Hu Yaobang expressed his approval. On 24 April 1983, a new leading body of the management committee held an inaugural ceremony. It was announced at the meeting that the management committee was elected for a term of 2 years and that a confidence vote would be cast at the end of 1 year.

In May of the same year, the management committee instituted a system for hiring the managers and directors of the companies and functional offices directly under the management committee. They were appointed for a term of 1 year. (In line with the requirements of the party Constitution, the party committee practiced an election system but a system of appointments was still adopted among the responsible persons of the organs or departments of the party committee, whose term of office was the same as that of managers and directors.) So far, the management committee of the industrial zone has held two elections and the managers and directors of the companies and functional offices directly under the management committee have been appointed four times.

It Is Necessary To Adhere to the Practice of Encouraging Cadres To Work at Both a Higher or a Lower Level as Required, and To Institutionalize the System of Selecting and Employing Leading Cadres for a Fixed Term of Office

Adhering to the practice of encouraging cadres to work at both a higher or a lower level as required is an important indication of whether or not we can genuinely implement the system of selecting and employing leading cadres for a fixed term of office. To counter the idea that "although there is no record of achievement, there is a record of hard work," we put forward the slogan, "having no record of achievement is a fault," urging all people to work hard in order to gain time and increase efficiency. With regard to a small number of cadres who were not competent at their jobs, we realistically and promptly changed their work posts and, in line with their specific conditions, made rational arrangements. To take a middle-level leading comrade as an example: He worked hard and had not made any mistakes. However, for the sake of increasing work efficiency, we deemed it necessary to change his work post. Therefore, while explaining to him the requirements of the work, we also affirmed his strong points and special skills. After being transferred to a new work post, he continued to preserve his fine work style and to give scope to his special skills. One year later he was elected an advanced worker of the industrial zone.

With regard to a few erring comrades, our principle is to be strict in criticism and education and lenient in meting out disciplinary measures. After they have corrected their mistakes, we still give them work suited to their abilities. It is stipulated in the industrial zone that workers or staff members going to Hong Kong are prohibited from bringing back such "large articles" as television sets, refrigerators, and radio cassette recorders. However, a director violated this stipulation. When he returned from Hong Kong, he brought back some "large articles" (although he did not



violate the stipulations of the customs house). When employed the following year, he was appointed assistant to a manager and his post-based wages were also reduced accordingly. Afterward, he adopted a serious attitude toward this penalty. He sold the articles to the industrial zone, worked diligently, set strict demands on himself, and achieved successes in his work. A few months later, he was again employed as a manager. Taking another manager as an example: Though he was capable, he was not good at uniting with his comrades, which caused losses to the work. He was held responsible for it and, being dismissed, worked as an ordinary member of personnel. However, he could draw lessons from and correct his mistakes. He worked enthusiastically and was later reemployed as a manager. Over the past few years, the industrial zone has strengthened management over cadres and adopted a correct approach toward erring comrades. This has vigorously spurred the cadres to change their work style and ensured the sound development of the ranks of cadres.

With regard to the old comrades who give up their posts to able persons, we adopted a principle of "handling old things in an old way." We give them neither lower political treatment nor smaller salaries. With regard to the newly promoted cadres, however, we adopt a principle of "handling new things in a new way," giving them political treatment and salaries commensurate with their posts.

In early 1985, on the basis of summing up the work of selecting and employing cadres in the previous 2 years, we worked out the "Provisional Regulations for the Organization of the Management Committee of the Shekou Industrial Zone of the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company" and the "Provisional Provisions for the Election of the Management Committee of the Shekou Industrial Zone of the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company" and further improved our election system. In electing the second management committee, we flexibly combined organizational assessment, work requirements, and people's wishes by asking the candidates to give written replies and hold public debates. By implementing the system of a fixed term of office, the people have regulations to follow, are concerned about Shekou, and are more confident about the future of the Shekou Industrial Zone.

It Is Necessary To Persist in the "Four Transformations" of Cadres, To Seek Truth From Facts, To Step Up Assessment, and To Conscientiously Sum Up Experience in Order To Boost the Sound Development of Selection and Employment Work

In selecting and employing leading cadres, we adhere to the principle of democratic centralism, follow the procedure of "democratic recommendation, assessment by the organization, examination and approval by the party committee, and employment by the management committee" and, in line with the criteria for the "four transformations" of cadres, fully consider the views of those making the recommendations. There is a postgraduate student majoring in enterprise management. He has worked in the industrial zone for a year. Many people hold that he has specialized knowledge of enterprise management and that his studies and analyses of problems have a certain depth. But he also has some shortcomings. In our view, however, it will be

hard to put young and middle-aged cadres in important positions if we demand perfection from them. As long as they do not make mistakes in principle, we should use them according to the needs of our work and help them raise their level of leadership in the course of using them. In so doing we can remove ideological obstacles to the bold promotion of cadres from among young and middle-aged intellectuals.

In employing cadres, we pay attention to their educational background but we pay more attention to their practical abilities. There is a cadre selected from among the workers. He only has an educational level of a senior middle school graduate. However, because of his high abilities, he is appointed assistant to a manager when reemployed and as an assistant manager when employed for the third time. Some companies have also selected and employed as department managers middle-aged cadres or workers who are capable and who have an educational level of secondary technical or senior middle school graduates. Moreover, we also pay attention to the composition of leading bodies. We take into consideration not only their professional and age structures but also the unity and cooperation of the members of the leading bodies.

On the basis of summing up the experience gained in the first employment work, our zone instituted a system of managing cadres at different levels. The personnel department of the party committee supervises the cadres of the companies and offices directly under the management committee at or above the manager's assistant level, as well as the cadres of foreign-owned enterprises or joint ventures at or above the Chinese director (manager) and deputy director (manager) levels. The manager or director of a company or office directly under the management committee has the right to appoint or dismiss responsible persons of its various departments. However, a report should be submitted to the personnel department for the record. If we over-emphasize the role of managers in forming leading bodies, the cadre department will only play the role of registering and putting on record. As a consequence, the managers will have a narrow field of vision and will limit the people to be selected to a very narrow range. Furthermore, because the legal system is still imperfect and because there are still unhealthy practices within the party, the problem of appointing people by favoritism is likely to arise. A manager was once subject to the interference of the personnel department because he overemphasized the need to form a leading body by himself. He brought the responsible comrade of the management committee to account, saying: "Don't you trust me?" The comrade replied: "Yes, but not completely. If we did not trust you, we would not have employed you as a manager. But we do not completely trust you. That is why it is still necessary to test you constantly." The property of the enterprise belongs to the state. In order to hold ourselves responsible to the state and the people, it is still necessary to stress the role of the personnel department in overseeing and examining cadres on the question of using people.

After the implementation of the system of hiring people for appointments, how do we assess cadres' achievements and errors? The personnel department of the industrial zone has gradually shifted the focus of its work to the

grass-roots units to conduct investigation and has established a system of submitting written reports. It has designed different forms to record the performance of different companies and offices on a monthly basis and to appraise their work on an annual basis. The monthly forms stress the principal tasks carried out, accurately recording both achievements and shortcomings and promptly reflecting the principal merits and demerits, as well as the problems that should be solved with the help of the personnel department. In the year-end appraisal forms the personnel department writes comments according to the assessment of the monthly forms. After reading the appraisal forms, the cadres may air views on the contents and then sign their names in confirmation. The year-end bonus which, as suggested by the personnel department, should be given to managers, must be reported to the management committee for approval. Since May 1984, a dossier system for the assessment of cadres' performances has been established on the basis of the monthly assessment, thus gradually turning a general discussion of cadres into a qualitative analysis of work efficiency.

With the exception of those who should be promptly dealt with for being obviously incompetent, for making mistakes despite repeated education, or for being bureaucratic and neglecting their duties, the managers and directors are usually appointed for a year. After a 2-year observation period, in line with the requirements of the "System of Rewards and Penalties for Leading Cadres," some highly successful managers and directors were appointed for a term of 2 years as of 1985. In this way, we can not only give scope to the positive role of the cadres during their limited terms of office, but also prevent some comrades from believing that they will be employed as managers for only 1 year, thus overcoming the defects of being eager for quick success and instant benefit and being unwilling to do solid and long-term work.

Following the implementation of the manager responsibility system, some party members, and even one or two party branch secretaries, failed to understand the principle of separating the functions of the party from those of the government. They only noticed administrative commands, holding that there was nothing left for party branches to do. Some were so afraid that they would be dismissed by the managers that they dared not air their views, even if they clearly knew that the managers were wrong. In light of this situation, the party committee worked out "Proposals on Strengthening the Basic Work of Party Organizations (in the Shekou Industrial Zone)," defining the tasks and role of a party branch. The document also stipulates that if a party branch secretary working in a foreign-owned enterprise or a joint venture is dismissed for adhering to principle, he will be given priority by the industrial zone in a new job assignment. In this way, party branches voluntarily carry out their activities and dare to air their views or put forward suggestions to managers or directors. We bring into play the role of party branches by soliciting their views before employing cadres. The party branches voluntarily show concern for the nonparty comrades employed as managers or directors, vigorously training them, and, in keeping with the requirements for party membership, recruit them into the party and gradually expand their ranks.

The system of selecting and employing leading cadres for a fixed term of office that we are implementing is still imperfect. For example, the functions, responsibilities, authority, and benefits of a manager have not been stipulated in very concrete terms. In particular, the questions of how to bring into play the supervisory role of the financial personnel under the manager responsibility system and how to effectively bring into play the supervisory role of party branches are yet to be explored.

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## COMMODITY ECONOMY AND SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

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[Article by Lu Zhichao [4151 0037 6389]]

[Text] The "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Society With an Advanced Culture and Ideology," which made principled explanations on the relations between the building of socialist spiritual civilization and the modernization program, and between reform and opening up is of great guiding significance to our understanding of things. In recent years, the development of a commodity economy and its relation with spiritual civilization have become the focus of public attention. In addition, the media has issued a number of articles on the issue. I would also like to express in this article some of my personal views on the issue.

### I. The Relations Between Commodity Economy and Spiritual Civilization in General

1. The extensive development of a commodity economy is an inevitable stage of social economic development. This thesis, which has been proved by world history, is the reflection of China's current situation. History teaches us that commodity economy developed extensively in the capitalist society. First, it was due to the development of the productive forces. It met the needs of the productive forces and became the motivity pushing forward the productive forces. With the development of mass production and division of labor and with the gradual substitution of modern big machines for the production activities based on manual work, the replacement of the self-sufficient natural economy of the feudal period by the commodity economy of capitalism was inevitable. This was a great course of historical progress. The development of the commodity economy gave impetus to the social productive forces; to science, technology, and culture as a whole; and to various forms of exchanges throughout the world. The considerable progress of world history over the past centuries since the Renaissance, including the progress of science, technology, literature and art, ideological theories, and political systems, is inseparable from the development of a commodity economy. Marxism, as an advanced scientific theoretical system, is also inseparable from the conditions provided by such progress. Marxism positively affirmed the historical role of the development of commodity economy and did not

negate it even while exposing the essence of the capitalist system and declaring its doom in the "Communist Manifesto." Therefore, it would be a lack of historical vision to relate commodity economy (particularly the commodity economy of capitalism) to the sources of all evil.

2. The commodity economy of capitalism gave enormous impetus to human progress and civilization. In addition, the regions where capitalism developed first extended such progress and civilization to the whole world. Nevertheless, such progress and civilization were established on the untold suffering and sacrifices of the oppressed and exploited nations, working class, and laboring people. Marx said in his "Future Results of British Rule in India" that civilization and the progress of the capitalist commodity economy resemble the hideous, pagan idol "who would not drink the nectar but from the skulls of the slain." While creating modern civilization, including highly developed science and technology, the capitalist commodity economy also brought forth modern barbarism, hypocrisy, ugliness, and filth of every description. Marx mercilessly exposed the spiritual degeneration of society caused by the capitalist commodity economy.

3. Marx was the first man to scientifically reveal the essence and the laws governing the development of commodity economy. He also analyzed historically and dialectically its dual nature in mankind's spiritual and cultural development. Regarding our understanding of the relations between the socialist commodity economy and socialist spiritual civilization, this Marxist analysis will still be of great significance to the following: First, the socialist commodity economy is also a commodity economy. A commodity economy has its general characters and laws. If we fail to understand its general characters and laws and integrate them with the actual circumstances of China's economic development, it will be impossible to understand the necessity of developing a socialist commodity economy and the role it exerts in the spiritual and cultural spheres. Second, there is a fundamental difference between socialist commodity economy and capitalist commodity economy and between socialist spiritual civilization and capitalist spiritual civilization. Only by profoundly understanding the essence of capitalist commodity economy, the laws governing its development, and the positive and negative impact of such development on spiritual civilization can we realize the essential characteristics of the socialist commodity economy and socialist spiritual civilization and their difference from the capitalist commodity economy and capitalist spiritual civilization.

## II. The Socialist Commodity Economy and Building of Socialist Spiritual Civilization

4. According to the general course of world history, the extensive development of commodity economy is realized amid the development of capitalism. The two take a similar course. China is an economically underdeveloped country. Owing to special historical reasons, China embarked on the socialist road without undergoing the extensive development of capitalist commodity economy. Following the establishment of the socialist system, we thought that the continuous expansion of the social productive forces would be possible and communism with abundant material wealth and a high



degree of ideological and cultural development would be attainable by relying on a highly centralized planned economic system and the people's revolutionary consciousness and enthusiasm, without undergoing the extensive development of a commodity economy and even adopting measures to restrict commodity economy. Facts have proved that the idea does not conform to the objective law of economic development. In light of special historical conditions, we can develop social productive forces without undergoing the capitalist road because it is a long and tortuous course. However, we cannot develop the productive forces without undergoing the stage of the extensive development of commodity economy. In order to realize socialist modernization, it is necessary to vigorously develop a commodity economy. The development of our commodity economy, which is based on public ownership, which implements the principle of distribution according to work, and which is planned and under control, is essentially different from the capitalist commodity economy. Therefore, its course, the laws governing its development, and its social, political, ideological, and cultural impact are also essentially different from the capitalist commodity economy. In light of this, we can analyze the relations between the socialist commodity economy and socialist spiritual civilization and carry out the building of spiritual civilization.

5. It is an arduous, complicated task and a new exploratory work to develop a socialist commodity economy, reform the rigid, old economic system, and establish a new system suited to the development of a commodity economy. It will inevitably advance in the course of resolving various problems, including the problems arising from the substitution of the old economic system for a new one and the contradictions between the reform of the economic structure and social, political, cultural, and ideological fields. The building of socialist spiritual civilization along this course is also an arduous task and new exploratory work, which should advance by constantly resolving contradictions. Marx said that human civilization has advanced amid resistance, "without confrontation, there would be no progress." That was a society of class confrontation. As socialism has basically abolished the sharp class struggles and class confrontation, the construction as a whole, including the building of spiritual civilization, can develop in a coordinated manner. However, it does not mean that there are no contradictions at all. Owing to the closed-door policy practiced in the past, the influence of the decadent bourgeois ideas will inevitably find expression in China following the policy of opening up and invigoration of the domestic economy. We can neither return to former state of seclusion due to the new problems nor let the public be mentally thrown into confusion due to the implementation of the policy of opening up and invigoration of the domestic economy. In order to break a new path, we should open up to the outside world and invigorate the domestic economy as well as maintain a fine mental attitude among the people. This means contradiction. The building of spiritual civilization can only advance in the course of constantly resolving contradictions.

6. The contradictions at the moment are focused on the estimation and analysis of the impact of the development of a commodity economy on the ideological and cultural spheres. As the development of commodity economy

has given enormous impetus to science, technology, culture, art, and ideological theories in the history of the world, the development of our socialist commodity economy today will undoubtedly play a positive role in socialist ideology and culture. We can definitely say that without opening up and invigoration of the domestic economy and without the extensive development of a socialist commodity economy, it would be impossible to carry out the building of a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization. The reason is simple. Spiritual civilization can only be the ideological and cultural manifestation of the people's capacity and achievements in transforming nature and society. Moreover, the development of socialist commodity economy is essentially the upgrading of the level of science and technology and the corresponding social productive forces. The expansion of contacts among the people and the improvement of social relations will certainly become the motivity and basis for improving the scientific, cultural, moral, and ideological level of society as a whole and for broadening the people's field of vision and transforming their mental outlook. Furthermore, the gaps and conditions arising from the development of a socialist commodity economy will inevitably bring about certain negative and unhealthy ideological and cultural factors. It would be unimaginable for the complicated process of opening up, invigoration of the domestic economy, and development of a commodity economy which involve various aspects of social life to produce only a one-way impact on ideology and culture. It is a one-sided view to think that the negative phenomena in society have nothing to do with a commodity economy and that they are the results of an underdeveloped commodity economy.

7. As a matter of fact, the impact of the development of socialist commodity economy on spiritual civilization is multifaceted. If we are not aware of the leading and essential aspects of the positive influence of commodity economy and if we cannot make ideological and cultural building suit its needs, it will lead to a misunderstanding and suspicion of reform. If we are not aware of the negative influence in this process and thus make every effort to resist it, we will fail to understand the significance of conscientiously carrying out spiritual civilization. Viewed from either the positive or negative influence of the commodity economy, it is the inevitable demand of the development of the socialist commodity economy to strengthen the building of socialist spiritual civilization. While laying down the grand task of the modernization program and formulating the policies of reform and opening up, our party set forth the strategic task of building socialist spiritual civilization. It was certainly not an accidental move.

### III. The Key Lies in Making Concrete Analysis

8. While discussing the relations between the development of the socialist commodity economy and the building of socialist spiritual civilization, it would be of no significance to affirm or negate in general terms the positive or negative influence of the former over the latter. It would also be of no value to list several examples to indicate which influence is the essential factor because our society is extremely complicated. Apart from the uneven development of the commodity economy, the standard of our science, culture, ideology, and morality is also uneven. It is not difficult at all to collect

a great number of examples to indicate any kind of view. Therefore, the key lies in regarding the two as the course of development of a contradiction and making concrete analyses from various aspects. In addition, we should understand the necessity of strengthening the building of spiritual civilization in developing the socialist commodity economy and seek a correct way to put it into effect. Now, I would like to offer some of my tentative ideas on this issue.

9. The question of feudal ideology and capitalist ideology. Owing to the historical and practical characteristics of China's society, the negative ideological and cultural phenomena that hindered social progress include the vestiges of the long-term feudal society--the remnant influence of feudalism which is deep-rooted in some fields and is accompanied by the small production mentality as well as the influence of the decadent bourgeois ideology, culture, and lifestyles. This influence should never be underestimated in today's world environment. Due to complicated history and reality, China had to face the following problem for a long time: We had to carry out the democratic revolution because of the underdeveloped capitalism and had to carry out socialist revolution and construction because of the decadent and outmoded capitalism. While discussing the relations between socialist commodity economy and socialist spiritual civilization, particularly regarding the question of eliminating feudalist and decadent capitalist ideas to meet the needs of the development of the socialist commodity economy, it is necessary to take the complicated circumstances into account and to make historic and concrete analyses. For example, on the one hand, the development of a commodity economy will inevitably require elimination of the vestiges of feudalism and small production mentality that still exist in certain fields, such as patriarchal behavior, hierarchy, ignorance and blind faith, and privileged and conservative ideas; and establishment of democracy, equality, freedom, and a scientific and efficient work style that corresponds with the commodity economy. This is a revolutionary change caused by the commodity economy in the spheres of ideology and culture. On the other hand, since we intend to develop an entire socialist commodity economy on the whole, the requirement for the ideological and cultural spheres should transcend that for an ordinary commodity economic development and should be linked with socialism. In other words, while fighting against the vestiges of feudalism, it is necessary to resist the decadent ideas and style of egoism, benefiting oneself at the expense of others, mutual suspicion and deception, and extravagance; advocate socialist and communist ideals and the ideological style of serving the people; prevent the social relations and the ideological and political relations among the people from becoming those based on money; establish among the people a new type of relations that accord with the socialist principles; scientifically distinguish the concepts of socialist democracy, freedom, and equality (that correspond to the elimination of the class exploitation system) from those of bourgeois democracy, freedom, and equality (that correspond to freedom of capitalist trade); build a high degree of socialist democracy; and develop Marxist concepts on freedom and equality. As we are confronted with the influence of capitalist ideas at home and abroad, the latter tasks will be more arduous and complicated. In a word, we should regard the development of the socialist commodity economy and its relations with the ideological and cultural spheres as a process of

a contradiction which has a dual nature. On the whole, China's commodity economy is still underdeveloped. The level of different localities and departments is also uneven. Viewed horizontally, the development of the socialist commodity economy will definitely be carried out at various levels in an uneven manner. Viewed vertically, it will be accompanied by the modernization program and the development of social productive forces for a fairly long historic period. Correspondingly, the elimination of feudal vestiges and decadent bourgeois ideas and the building of socialist spiritual civilization should also be an uneven, multilevel undertaking and a long-term, historic task.

10. The question of shallow and profound, temporary and far-reaching influence. The purpose of opening up to the outside world and invigorating the domestic economy is to develop commodity exchange at home and abroad. The transition from the closed-door, overcentralized, rigid old system to a new one characterized by opening up and invigoration of the domestic economy is bound to give rise to many complicated and mutually contradictory things and phenomena in the spheres of economy, ideology, and culture. Take the impact on the ideological and cultural spheres for example, the fundamental trend and far-reaching influence of the development of the socialist commodity economy should bring about remarkable improvements in science, culture, ideology, theory, and people's mental outlook. However, the things that appeared at first were usually negative phenomena running counter to these. In other words, when the development of the commodity economy was at its preliminary stage, many vulgar and even decadent, absurd things were very popular because they were something new and people lacked the ability to assess them and tell good from bad. Nevertheless, they had no vitality in the long run. With the development of the economy and culture as a whole and after a period of popularity, comparison, and work conducted, the newly emerging things gradually developed in a healthy direction, while the vulgar, decadent, and absurd things were abandoned by the majority of the people and were replaced by a profound, scientific, and healthy ideology and culture. For example, some young people were fond of the vulgar culture and lifestyles at the beginning. Not long afterwards, they were fed up with these things and gradually sought elegant and refined culture. Here is another example. Some people thought that they had discovered a new continent when they superficially approached the erroneous trend and concept of value spread from the West or society. The more they approached and compared them with Marxist theory, they gradually learned how to think seriously and scientifically and to analyze everything with Marxism. Such circumstances, experienced over the past few years, still exist. This is by no means strange. Since the reform of the economic structure should undergo a process of continuous development and perfecting, so should the development of ideology and culture.

11. On the things that developed spontaneously and conscientiously in carrying out ideological and cultural building. In the development of a commodity economy, the spread of many negative things, vulgar culture, and erroneous ideas, whether they come from foreign countries or are left over from the old society, is usually spontaneous because these things are actually the outcome of ignorance and backwardness. Where conditions permit,

they can be accepted blindly by people without education and learning, particularly when people lack proper knowledge and awareness. In order to eliminate these things or diminish their influence to the minimum, apart from the necessary management and struggles, the most important thing is to replace them with positive, lofty, scientific, and healthy ideology and culture, and to heighten the ideological awareness, moral level, and appreciation and cognitive ability of the broad masses. Instead of developing spontaneously, the building of scientific and healthy ideology and culture requires enlightenment, guidance, and education. In other words, they can develop only with conscious efforts made under the guidance of Marxism. This is true also for the development of the socialist commodity economy even though it can invigorate and give impetus to the development of new ideas, science, and culture. For example, without scientific ideological theoretical work, it would be impossible to eliminate the vestiges of feudalism and conservative, outdated force of habit and to establish the correct concepts concerning equality, freedom, efficiency, competition, information, and qualified personnel that correspond with the development of the socialist commodity economy. In a word, it is necessary to acquire modern scientific knowledge and foster civilized, healthy lifestyles and an enterprising spirit. We should also rely on Marxist education to enhance communist and socialist ideals, morality, and discipline.

12. On socialist commodity economy and other nonsocialist economic sectors. In our socialist society, the socialist economy is the principal sector of the commodity economy. Meanwhile, we also have the individual sector, joint ventures, cooperative enterprises, enterprises exclusively owned by foreign businessmen, and other economic sectors in our society. Their existence and development, which constitute the necessary supplement to the socialist economy, will be advantageous to the expansion of social productive forces and improvement of the people's living standard. Linked with the socialist economic sector which occupies a predominant position, they are different in nature from those under the capitalist economy. However, their contradictions and essential difference with the socialist economic sector should be correctly handled in the course of development of the commodity economy. Similarly, their ideological and cultural influence will also differ from that of the socialist commodity economy. In other words, the economic relations, reflected in the sphere of ideology and culture, are bound to bring about bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas. While discussing the interrelation and interaction of commodity economy and spiritual civilization, we cannot neglect these circumstances and should make concrete analysis of their impact. For example, compared with the traditional small-scale production that sticks to old conventions and is satisfied with the existing state of affairs, the enterprising and competitive spirit, an outcome of the development of commodity economy is a forward step. In the course of competition, the different economic sectors may have their own principles and methods in dealing with other commodity producers. Just as, through the leading role of the socialist economic sector, we have guided economically, the nonsocialist economic sectors to the road advantageous to the building of socialist modernization, we should also use various means of socialist ideological education to correctly deal with these economic sectors. While giving full play to their positive role, we should also restrict and eliminate their negative influence.



13. On economic benefits and ideological and political work. Even in the commodity economy of a socialist nature, such as the commodity production and circulation of public-owned socialist enterprises, there is a question of relations between economy and politics, namely, the relations between economic benefits and ideological and political work. In the socialist commodity economy, the relations between the relatively independent commodity producers are the relations of socialism. As relatively independent producers who have their own economic benefits, they confront and compete with each other. As socialist laborers with common interests and objectives, they also make concerted efforts to carry out the socialist modernization program. However, the economic relations that objectively exist cannot definitely enable people to spontaneously and correctly understand the essence of these relations and the laws governing their development. In this respect, scientific political and ideological work is necessary. Under the capitalist system, the economic position of workers could spontaneously give rise only to economism and unionism rather than scientific socialism. On this basis, the vital issues of party leadership and integration of Marxism and the workers' movement came into being. This was a basic principle of Marxism and a basic experience of the international workers' movement. This is also the case under the conditions of socialism. For example, the establishment of socialist public ownership could not spontaneously give rise to a sense of being master of one's own affairs. Similarly the implementation of the system of distribution according to work could not spontaneously give rise to a correct attitude toward labor. In order to foster a correct attitude toward labor and a sense of being masters of the country, apart from correct systems and policies, it is also necessary to conduct socialist ideological education. To recognize the relatively independent economic benefits of different commodity producers and thus arouse the initiative of enterprises and laborers is an essential aspect of the development of the socialist commodity economy. Meanwhile, enterprises and laborers are aware of their direct benefits rather than the indirect, macroeconomic results and the long-term interests of society as a whole. For example, the workers usually expect enterprises to retain more profits and issue more bonuses, and also hope that the prices will not increase. However, they do not correctly understand the internal relations between the two factors. For this reason, it is necessary to conduct education in scientific theories so that the broad masses will understand the purpose and correct way to develop socialist commodity economy, distinguish its difference from capitalist commodity economy, integrate the economic interests of individuals and enterprises with those of society and state as a whole, and avoid the mistaken and negative ideas and deeds arising from the spontaneous pursuing of individual or departmental interests.

#### IV. Learn How To Analyze Problems

14. Naturally, the study of interrelation and interaction of socialist commodity economy and building of spiritual civilization cannot be confined to the above. We can make a further study of the issue from different angles and layers. The above analyses are superficial. I just intended to list some examples to show the necessity for analysis. The development of socialist commodity economy involves economic reform and the policy of opening up and invigoration of the domestic economy as a whole and runs



through the entire course of the development of social productive forces and the building of socialist modernization. With various development stages and large numbers of problems to tackle, it will extensively and profoundly affect the political, ideological, and cultural spheres and social life as a whole. Therefore, we should make historical and concrete analysis of every question at each development stage from various angles. The key lies in applying the Marxist concept of historical materialism to understand the current development of commodity economy, the building of spiritual civilization, and the relations between the two. Regarding this complicated question, subjectivism, dogmatism, and the drawing of absolute or oversimplified conclusions would be of no avail. While discussing the shortcomings of the "May 4th" new cultural movement, Comrade Mao Zedong said that many leaders at that time used the formalist method in judging problems. "They were quite right in opposing the old stereotype and the old dogma and in advocating science and democracy. But in dealing with current conditions, with history, and with things foreign, they lacked the critical spirit of historical materialism and regarded what was bad as absolutely and wholly bad and what was good as absolutely and wholly good." Later, he quoted Lenin and reemphasized that concrete analysis of concrete conditions is the most essential thing in Marxism, the living soul of Marxism. He pointed out: "Lacking an analytical approach, many of our comrades do not want to go deeply into complex matters, to analyze and study them over and over again, but like to draw simple conclusions which are either absolutely affirmative or absolutely negative," and our newspapers also lack analytical articles. He continued: "We should encourage our comrades to think, to learn the method of analysis and to cultivate the habit of analysis." The principles of these methodologies are still very important in guiding our observance of the development of the commodity economy and the building of spiritual civilization. It is a pity that we now lack such analytical articles and have not yet found a work like "On Protracted War" which meticulously analyzed the processes, different stages, and various aspects of a large society. Naturally, accumulation of practical experience, exposure of the objective process to a certain extent, and other conditions are required to do so. Nevertheless, it would be quite appropriate to put the stress on the method of analysis in the course of exploration. The process of transforming old China's semicolonial, semi-feudal politics, economy, and culture was an extremely complicated one. With the spirit of criticism and the analytical method of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, our party made a scientific and realistic conclusion of the complicated question on China and initiated the cause of the new democratic revolution. Only with the Marxist scientific method of analysis can we realize today the complicated reality under the new conditions and further explore the way to develop socialist commodity economy and build socialist spiritual civilization.

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'A HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT CONTEND' AND THE QUESTION OF THE STYLE OF STUDY

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[Article by Min Ze [2402 3419]]

[Text] The unfolding of the "contention of a hundred schools of thought" and the development of scientific and academic undertakings necessitate a fine environment and atmosphere for academic democracy. This has been proved by historical developments at home and abroad as well as scientific and academic developments since the May 4th Movement. Either positive or negative historical experiences have proved this simple truth. Therefore, the author fully agrees to the importance of this issue from various angles in the discussion of many articles published of late.

True, an environment and atmosphere of academic democracy is primary and important, but a fine style of study as well as a scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts are likewise important in genuinely unfolding the "contention of a hundred schools of thought" and developing science and academic undertakings. Such a style of study and scientific attitude are major and basic from the view of subjective factors.

This is because the purpose for unfolding the "contention of a hundred schools of thought" can only be developing socialist science and academic undertakings, and we do not contend for the sake of contention. If our purpose is for the development of science undertakings, the "contention of a hundred schools of thought" can only be based on the scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts, but not the speculation of metaphysics. It is simply evident that scientific means are to be adopted but not the otherwise.

The devotion to scientific and academic research is by no means an easy task, but a solemn undertaking involving long-term arduous labor. Anyone who wants to genuinely devote himself to this undertaking must be ready to work very hard. We do not in the least attempt to exaggerate the mystery of scientific research. However, these are simply the objective facts and truths revealed in the history of scientific and academic development.

It was precisely because of this, that Marx, starting from his personal experiences, pointed out with deep feelings: The road to science is an uneven and rugged path, the scaling of which involves a spirit of fearing

no hardships. He even compared "the door leading to science" to "the entrance to hell."

Whether the approach of scientific research is correct is the key to the success of scientific research. A correct approach gets twice the results with half the effort; while an incorrect approach gets half the result with twice the effort. There is no "shortcut" for any scientific research worker; he must possess exhaustive data, direct and indirect, in relation with the object of his study, before it is possible for him to start scientific thinking, and then come to a scientific conclusion through meticulous examination, differentiation, and analysis. Scientific research is not arbitrary supposition, which is flowery, but will fail any test, and is of no value.

Engels also said with deep understanding: Even the development of the materialist view in a single historical case involves sober study of many years. In fact, this happens not only with the study of historical materialism, but with the study in all fields of science with no exception.

Those who left their records in the history of scientific and academic development and made contributions to mankind in science and academic undertakings, had all been inspired by a spirit of dedication and started by accumulating their data bit by bit, until "their clothes became too loose for them, for they themselves had grown thin and pallid."

The streams of many tributaries form into the waters of a big river. A journey of a thousand miles begins with but a single step. Without exception, this simple truth is applicable to any project of scientific research worthy of originality.

To unfold "contention of a hundred schools of thought" in a broad academic democracy will create a good spiritual climate for the development of science and academic learning; under such a climate, genuine and original scientific research will in turn affect and push forward the development of the "contention of a hundred schools of thought"; these two things supplement and help each other. In this way, our socialist science, academic and cultural undertakings will gain vigorous vitality in their development.

We are happy to see that in recent years, the academic atmosphere has become thicker than at any time in the past, and the thinking of the academic circles has been unprecedentedly active. Scholars of the older generation have always persisted in the spirit of meticulous scholarship, characteristic of the scrupulousness about every detail. They work diligently, and dedicate their wisdom and intelligence to the development of the Chinese culture, the building of socialist spiritual civilization, as well as the progress of science and academic undertakings. Middle-aged and young research workers in the fields of literature and social sciences have carried forward the meticulous scholarship of the older generation, which is characteristic of seeking truth from facts, and immersed themselves in studies in a down-to-earth manner; at the same time, they have broadened their vision and activated their thinking. They are brave in blazing new trails, and good at

doing so. They have China in mind and the whole world in view. They adhere to the basic tenets of Marxism, link them closely with actual conditions, and work hard to apply and develop Marxism. They have kept the door wide open, and absorbed in breadth all valuable foreign new ideas in the humanities, while adhering to the principle of criticism, without the least of the "slavish mentality." Although they might be immature in the field of scientific research, and have certain imperfections and weaknesses, they spare no efforts to break away from conventional rules, and often propose some very valuable academic views based on science. It is pleasing to have in our scientific research this new force, which is full of vigor and vitality. In them, we see the future of China's science and academic undertakings. This is a fact, which should be fully recognized and highly evaluated, as well as the mainstream of the question in discussion.

We should see, on the other hand, that while true, a sound spiritual climate is the most appropriate environment for the development of science and academic undertakings, the growth of weeds is inevitable in such an environment. This is the dialectics of history as well as the reality of life. When people's thinking is very active, we cannot but feel, and even feel deeply, the existence of problems of all sorts awaiting a solution in unfolding academic research and the "contention of a hundred schools of thought" at present. One of the more conspicuous and acute problems is the unsound style of study emerging in a few newspapers and journals and existing among some research workers. Such unsound styles of study do not involve the whole situation; however, it goes almost unchecked within quite a considerable realm, and is supported by some of public opinion. This cannot but rouse the deep concern of the scholars of the older generation as well as some middle-aged and young scholars in the academic circles. Such concern can often be felt, and talks about it often heard in many units of social sciences and sites of academic discussions.

At present, it is by no means a rare phenomenon that among a small number of research workers, middle-aged and young research workers in particular, the role of data accumulation and analysis is played down and made little of, while these people are enthusiastic and zealous for "shortcuts" in scientific research.

As said before, scientific research is an arduous and solemn undertaking, and all relevant historical data regarding the object under research as well as all relevant aspects concerning this data must be possessed over a long period of time. Progress and breakthroughs are possible only through serious thinking and selection on a wide scope by eliminating the false and retaining the true. Even with such a correct attitude, individual mistakes are unavoidable. But at present some people propose: We should not start with collecting data in scientific research, which means "trailing others at a snail's pace."

One research worker openly said: There is no need to start with voluminous data concerning the research of a certain project; it will be quite enough to have a thorough study of the work of a certain scholar. Still another research worker repeatedly said: Research workers fall into two categories,

one category attaches importance to data, which is trivial, and this category has not much of a future to speak of. The other category is good at creating new systems, although it does not attach any importance to data. In short, it is quite fashionable among a small number of comrades to make light of the exhaustive accumulation, differentiation and analysis of relevant data concerning the research object.

In fact, such views and ideas are a long way from meticulous scholarship. What will be the base of scientific research, if research is not started with data work? At best, it can only be some unfounded supposition. To base one's research on the works of some other established scholars, one will become, at best, a "senior" plagiarist. True, some of those who attach importance to data work may be "trivial," with not very "much of a future to speak of," but those who make light of data work can only build their "systems" on some unfounded supposition with a series of mistakes, as shown in the individual works we have come across nowadays.

It is simply regarded as fashionable to attach no importance to data work, but a tendency of being enthusiastic and zealous for the "invention" or "creation" of some new "systems" is revealed in a few articles and works published in recent years. The discovery of a genuine scientific system is of course worthy of our respect and congratulations, and the discovery is doubtlessly a great contribution to the development of science and academic undertakings. Therefore, such a pursuit and hope should not be censured, but encouraged. But the question is: To set the discovery of such a scientific system against the long-term and arduous accumulation, differentiation, and analysis of data, and to deal with scientific systems with an unscientific attitude can only be a fruitless approach in the end.

It is precisely under the effects of such an atmosphere that we have found some very strange phenomena in individual works: When the author was far from well prepared in basic knowledge, he attempted to present intelligent views involving historical background of a wide range of the branch of science concerned. When one actually knew very little about Chinese traditional culture, aesthetics, and literary theory, one would generalize their characteristics as an entity, which one even listed in the order of I, II, III, IV. When one was not quite familiar with either Chinese or Western culture, one could be bold enough to draw comparisons between them, and asserted that they each had such and such characteristics.

Such enthusiasm and zeal for "inventing" a new system, and the practice of making light of mastering relevant data concerning the object under research have resulted in the following two conditions, which people will often come across in their reading:

First, in some individual articles and works, the blunders resulting from a lack of knowledge, which people will avoid as a taboo, are surprisingly great in number. The quotations as evidence were mostly copied secondhand; and in context their citations often ran counter to their original meanings. Sometimes, the author failed to grasp the quoted data, which he interpreted without real understanding, and expounded on his theory by confusing one

thing with another. Or he would incorrectly relay an erroneous message, and draw up a conclusion rashly. Or the author's knowledge was one-sided, when he would treat the topic as the whole picture.

Second, if such "inventions," "theses" and "systems" are based on voided suppositions, mistakes and one-sidedness, or even distorted data, their scientific value cannot but be doubtful. Some individual work is even like a paper house that cannot stand the test of practice and history. Such practice will never play an active role in pushing forward science and academic development.

The question is not just the emergence of such phenomena. If the emergence of such phenomena should arrest the attention of academic workers and the media, and necessary, truth-seeking criticism and guidance aiming to help others are conducted, we should not make a fuss about it. But the question is: Ours is a time pressing for reform and blazing new trails, and a thirst and expectation for reform and blazing new trails universally exist among the people. In actual life, creations with strong vitality and rich spirit of the times have kept emerging in our life, whether in the economic or the ideological field. At the same time, we sometimes fail to promptly conduct, and even neglect the necessary and meticulous differentiation and analysis of the "newborn" things emerged. Therefore, individual works or articles of this category have been held in high esteem by a very small number of newspapers and journals, which are enthusiastic about pursuing new things, but not so strict about conducting serious and meticulous differentiation and analysis. The injury done to the scientific style of study resulting from such practices are good reasons for people's worries and anxieties.

If anyone has conducted some serious and historical study, he will find that the problems in the style of study emerging at present are not accidental.

Speaking of our tradition, true, problems of all sorts existed in the academic research in China in the past, such as the scholastic textual research which has been proved to be insignificant, staying in a rut, and, relatively speaking, lacking sometimes the spirit of blazing new trails. All this should be criticized, and should not be inherited; but meticulous scholarship and scrupulousness about every detail in the traditional style of study are worthy of our inheritance and carrying forward under the new historical conditions. Regarding the method of "empirical research" representative of Dai Zhen, Duan Yucai, Qian Dazhao, and Wang Niansun of the Qing Dynasty, although it actually played the role of "confining people's wisdom and intelligence" (Zhang Taiyan: "Xue Yin" [1331 7148], "Complete Works of Zhang Taiyan," Vol 3, p 111), their meticulous scholarship has benefited several generations, and remains a principle adhered to by many scholars. As a vanguard of his times, Lu Xun had always been brave, persisting in the fight against feudal and bourgeois cultures; and he was unswervingly faithful to the scientific style of study in his practices whether at a time when he was a radical revolutionary democrat active in the arena of cultural struggle, or when he became a Marxist. In his lifetime, Lu Xun acutely criticized and ridiculed such styles of study in which some people would make irresponsible remarks before they had made in-depth



research. People are quite familiar with many such examples. Lu Xun set us a very good example in his revolutionary spirit and his meticulous scholarship characteristic of scrupulousness about every detail. Even with those research workers of the older generation, who do not guide their work with Marxist principles, the meticulous scholarship characteristics of scrupulousness about every detail has always been a valuable tradition, which has nurtured and affected their successors.

Regarding the historical development of our party, unhealthy trends and styles of work brought about extremely great injuries to the revolution; therefore, they became one of the most important essences of the 1942 Yanan rectification campaign. In such important articles as "Reform Our Study" written by Comrade Mao Zedong, he acutely criticized such bad styles as behaving like "'a blindfolded man catching sparrows,' or 'a blind man groping for fish,' being crude and careless, indulging in verbiage, resting content with a smattering of knowledge," and those people "who have no intention of seeking truth from facts, but only a desire to curry favor by claptrap. They are flashy without substance, brittle without solidity," and are "top-heavy, thin-stemmed and shallow of root." ("Reform Our Study") He repeatedly stressed that "Marxism-Leninism is a science, and science means honest, solid knowledge," and "an attitude of seeking truth from facts is needed." Such a style of study advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong not only played an extremely important role in the historical practice of the revolution, but became a fine tradition of the party style and the style of study.

Affected by the traditional scholarly style and the Marxist scientific style of study, the style of study in China was rather healthy in the early days when the PRC was founded. Works produced in a rough and slipshod way were rare occasions, and would always rouse the attention and criticism of the academic circles and the press. With the rise and development of the "leftist" guiding ideas, the fine traditional style of study began to be corrupted and damaged. To do it justice, the main problem that existed in the style of study was "leftist" expression of all sorts; however, in academic works and other articles, such phenomena as a series of mistakes, and even blunders originating from ignorance rarely happened.

During the "Great Cultural Revolution," the practice of arbitrarily raising to the higher plane of principle under the ideological guidance of "taking class struggle as the key" not only brought about great political and economic injuries but also disasters of a destructive nature to the spiritual and cultural wealth accumulated by our ancestors over several thousand years, and such disasters lasted for a whole decade. Both culture and knowledge became a sin; of course, there was no meticulous scholarship or good style of study to speak of. This was undoubtedly a profound historical factor affecting the style of study today, including the interruption of normal education and study resulting in the insufficiency of scholarly preparation of middle-aged and young writers and the injured style of study which has not been corrected. The policy of opening up to the outside world, which China has resolutely implemented in recent years is not only a necessary and correct measure to develop socialist economy and to promote the development of science and technology, but an important condition for building and

developing socialist culture. This has been fully proved, and will continuously be proved by the practice of social life. Because of the semi-closed state resulting from the closed-door policy of many years, people have been vying for new foreign knowledge, and new ideological trends since the door was opened. As the mainstream, this brand-new phenomenon is undoubtedly as good as sound. However, certain effects of pursuing new fashion without differentiating whether this knowledge and ideological trends are scientific in essence, and the corruption and effects of commodity economy in the academic and cultural fields with the implementation of the correct measures to invigorate the economy are also factors leading to some conspicuous problems in the style of study in certain fields.

This noteworthy problem in the style of study emerging in certain fields at present is not the mainstream in the style of study as a whole. However, its effects should not be underestimated, particularly the injury done to the younger generation who are not sufficiently educated. Its effects are by no means restricted to knowledge, but have a greater bearing on the attitude and method of scholarly study. Young people are the future pillars of society, and builders of the future civilization. It is entirely understandable that this problem has roused universal concern. Of course, the problem of the style of study is closely linked with problems of party style and social atmosphere. It is self-evident that the rectifying of the style of study is inseparable with the rectifying of the party style and social atmosphere. We have the long-term and great positive effects of the Yanan rectification campaign on the party style and style of study serving as a most convincing precedent.

In conclusion, a point to be clarified is: Two different conditions should be correctly handled regarding the problems in the style of study in unfolding the "contention of a hundred schools of thought," namely, mistakes are liable to occur in any creative activities, academic research in particular, when it involves wide-ranging and voluminous data. Therefore, regarding those articles and works with occasional mistakes, but which are basically serious in their research, they should be protected and supported enthusiastically. Of course, it is also necessary to point out their shortcomings, but we should not negate everything just because of some of their shortcomings; for that will affect the enthusiasm of academic creativity. Regarding those few works which lack the least seriousness for scientific research, with rather conspicuous problems in the style of study, their grave shortcomings should be pointed out. But then, we should affirm and encourage some of the rational factors or views in them in a truth-seeking way, and refrain from negating everything.

In short, it is necessary to adhere to the scientific, truth-seeking spirit and style of study. Science develops in a scientific and truth-seeking spirit; likewise, the correction of a style of study violating science and the truth-seeking spirit can only be conducted by relying on a scientific and truth-seeking spirit and attitude.

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CSO: 4004/4

OPEN AND ABOVEBOARD, LEARNED AND VERSATILE--INTRODUCING 'COLLECTED WORKS OF DENG TUO'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 86 pp 37-39

[Article by Cheng Mei [2052 5019] and Gu Xing [7357 5887]]

[Text] The publication of the "Collected Works of Deng Tuo" comes 20 years after Deng Tuo died uncleared of false charges.

Deng Tuo was an outstanding Chinese journalist, political commentator, historian, essayist, and poet of the contemporary era. The four-volume "Collected Works of Deng Tuo" contain his major treatises, essays, poetry, and political comments which reflect some aspects of the political changes during the second revolutionary civil war, during the war of resistance against Japan, during the war of liberation, and after the founding of the PRC, and record his experiences during the revolution as well as the path of development of his thinking. At 54, when Deng Tuo was in his prime, when he had gained a great deal of experience in work, and when his creative capability was towering, he was cruelly persecuted to death by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Had this not happened, he would have left a larger quantity of works of even higher quality. In mourning Deng Tuo's death, Comrade Nie Rongzhen inscribed an 8-character remark: Open and aboveboard, learned and versatile. This is the best overall description of Deng Tuo's life. The "Collected Works of Deng Tuo" distinctly show that he was an aboveboard, upright, and outspoken personality who adhered to the truth and refused to fawn on others or compromise with evil; these qualities embody his firm adherence to the party spirit. The works also reflect his arduous and unrelenting efforts in studying, his mastery of broad, expert, and profound knowledge, and his unique and outstanding literary talent.

Deng Tuo joined the CPC in 1930, when he had just reached the age of 18, and then began to devote himself to the Chinese people's cause of liberation. Over the subsequent 30 years or more of revolutionary activities, he always used writing as a weapon to work for the party. His poetry was all written for the revolution's sake amid acute and intense struggle. In the 1930's, a polemic over the history of Chinese society occurred on the ideological front in China. Six treatises on history in Volume 2 of the works were written at that time; they include "On Slave Society in Chinese History," "On the Question of 'Prolonged Stagnation' in Chinese Feudal

Society," and "The Tortuous Development of Capitalism in Modern China." Embodying Marxist viewpoints and methods, they expound the nature of the Chinese society and China's revolution, and powerfully refute the Trotskyists' and Kuomintang scholars' distortion of Chinese history and vilification of the revolution. This polemic was essentially part of the intense struggle on the ideological front and political front at that time. Deng Tuo's works caused strong repercussions in contemporary historical science. Today they still provide profound enlightenment.

The "History of Providing Relief in Famines in China Due to Crop Failure" is based on the graduation thesis he wrote when he was an economics student of the University of Henan. Published in 1937 and reprinted in 1957, it was regarded as an important work by academic circles in China and abroad. In China's modern academic history, it was the first treatise on famines due to crop failure in China through the ages. Guided by Marxist ideology and using a great deal of historical information, he examined historical facts about famines due to crop failure through the ages and the relevant measures for providing relief, as well as the relationship between those famines and changes in the form and nature of the socioeconomic structure. He clearly stated that in studying the history of providing relief in famines due to crop failure, one should not only reveal the natural and social causes of those famines, but should also analyze the general and specific characteristics of those famines corresponding to various stages of historical development, and explore specific ways of prevention and control. This historical work by young Deng Tuo shows that as a historian, he possessed encyclopedic knowledge, was good at analysis, and had a penetrating mind. The work also reflects his amazing stamina in studying history for the sake of China's revolution.

The war of resistance against Japan broke out in 1937. Deng Tuo resolutely renounced the pen for the sword and hurried to the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei anti-Japanese base area. In 1938, he was put in charge of KANGDI BAO (which was later renamed JINCHAJI RIBAO [SHANXI-CHAHAR-HEBEI DAILY NEWS]). Thus he began to take a leading role in our party's information service. In those war years of great hardship, he often worked out plots on horseback, and when he arrived at where the troops were stationed he immediately started to write articles and set about publishing his newspaper. He often wrote under the oil lamp, at the door, or beside the grain mill. The majority of the political comments and journalistic articles in Volume 1 of the "Collected Works of Deng Tuo" were written under those circumstances.

Deng Tuo's style of thinking was most typically represented in the "Evening Discourses From the Yan Mountains" in Volume 3 of the collected works. Right at the beginning of the "Great Cultural Revolution," this collection of essays was used by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and company to set their counterrevolutionary conspiracy in motion. The resulting unjust verdict appalled the whole nation. Deng Tuo thus had his life terminated. The "Evening Discourses From the Yan Mountains" were written in the grim period of 1961 and 1962 when the practice of real life was harshly testing many practices initiated since 1958. In "Evening Discourses From the Yan Mountains," Deng Tuo expounded his basic ideas; he advocated scientific

thinking and seeking truth from facts, and encouraged people to become well educated and thus raise their own ideological plane. Following the Marxist ideological line, he exposed and criticized "leftist" ideology as reflected in subjectivism, fraud and trickery, coercion and commandism, lying and empty talk, and so on. Although in the rectification and antirightist movement of 1957 Deng Tuo had been denounced for no reason and had to quit his RENMIN RIBAO job, he continued to defend the truth out of his concern for the public good, expounding his viewpoints sincerely but in a mild and roundabout way. In the light of the nationwide abuse of manpower since 1958, he stressed in his article "Theory of Taking Good Care of Labor Force" that the labor force is the most important category of wealth in society and that taking good care of the labor force is a major state policy essential to developing production and construction. His article "Three Versions of Zhu Geliang" further exposed the root of "leftist" ideology in terms of the high plane of the theory of knowledge; it stated that practice is the source of genuine knowledge, and without practice and investigation of the real situation any so-called prophetic vision is merely big talk. The good quality of Zhu Geliang [a legendary strategist famous for his boundless wit and resourcefulness in warfare] was that in the face of failures he never despaired or acted in a foolhardy way, but paid attention to investigation and study; he was good at learning lessons from the experience of failure and he put the blame mainly on himself. Fake Zhu Geliangs who pose as genuine "Zhu Geliangs" are most undesirable. Being a loyal fighter who had fought many years on the ideological front, Comrade Deng Tuo perceived with his sharp political sensitiveness that the irregularities in inner-party democratic life since 1957 were a major cause of the development of "leftist" ideology, while some people with ulterior motives were taking advantage of those irregularities to lavish honeyed words and insinuating manners, vigorously promote personality cult, practice flattery to win favor, and thus strive for personal gains. In the article "Is Resourcefulness Reliable?" he frankly voiced his sincere advice that resourcefulness can never be a mystery; it belongs to the broad masses of people and not to a handful of geniuses. Some people liked to show off and think themselves very clever, refusing to accept good suggestions from the masses; if they did not awaken and correct their mistakes, they would one day suffer great losses. Did not Comrade Deng Tuo's utterance of those admonitions from the depths of his heart despite the misunderstandings and unjust treatment besetting him precisely reflect his attitude of harboring an utmost sense of responsibility for our party's undertakings and harboring true love for our party leaders?

Volume 4 of the collected works contains his poetry and prose. He spent most of his life in combat, burdened with pressing military duties, and in pressing and busy work. His poetic sentiments were always linked to the people's joys, sorrows, gratification, and indignation. His poetry and prose are prominently marked by boundless political zeal, profound and meaningful ideological content, and a lofty and original style. "Frontier fortresses yield to phalanges of pens, and over the long years the brandishing of writing brushes has been stirring up puffs of cold breeze. The morning star Venus is emerging; enthusiasm in fighting the enemy is soaring, high as a rainbow. Vigorously we wield our writing brushes like swords, while tens of

thousands of heroes charge on galloping horses. With banners of literary power accompanying battle drums, into Guangdong we march, mighty in our triumph!" What revolutionary fervor is fused into poems like this one, written in the intense fire of battles! The reader of poems like this feels like returning to those earthshaking times and hearing the footsteps of the party and the people in their triumphant advance.

Deng Tuo's poetry is a faithful record of the development of his thinking throughout his life. He used poetry to express his cherishing of the revolution, praise the people's outstanding achievements, mourn his battle companions' martyrdom, and voice his genuine love. His poetry also pours out his concern for our national affairs and his worries and distress arising from his ideological and cognitive disagreement with the party over certain viewpoints. Through his poetry, he revealed his thinking and sentiments without reserve:

"Over 2 decades have I wielded the pen that is as brisk as a snake or dragon. Clearly distinguishing right from wrong, I have produced neither some thing nor any stuff as illusory as a puff of smoke. I as a scholar tired to fill those sheets with hosts of articles; virtuous are those fellow fighters who jointly braved so many hardships like braving storms in the same boat. Examining the past tells what achievements or mistakes have been made; of greatest concern to me is to catch up with the advanced. Lofty sentiments are the fruit of my life; we now see a nationwide high tide coupled with hopes soaring to the sky."

He could never have thought that this short poem written in 1959 could cause his death during those "unprecedented" years.

Comrade Deng Tuo would be comforted to know that a time of a "nationwide high tide coupled with hopes soaring to the sky" has actually come. The publication of the "Collected Works of Deng Tuo" indicates that the party and the people cherish the memory of Deng Tuo. People will draw wisdom and strength from the "Collected Works of Deng Tuo" and continue to advance in our motherland's socialist modernization.

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CSO: 4004/5



'CHINA--THE LONG MARCH'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 86 p 39

[Book news]

[Text] The highly attractive large album of pictures of "China--The Long March" is jointly published by the Weldon Hardie Company of Australia, the China Publishing and Foreign Trade General Corporation and the China Photographic Publishing Society. It is published in seven languages, namely, Chinese, English, French, German, Japanese, Italian, and Spanish, and is being simultaneously circulated both within the country and abroad. The album proper carries over 20,000 words, written by Anthony Lawrence, and former Far East correspondent of the BBC. He narrated with great warmth on the 25,000-li Long March of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army--the most gigantic feat in the history of the modern world. He wrote: "The Long March carries the same important significance to China of the 20th century as the French Revolution did to Europe of the 18th century, and the South-North war to the United States of the 19th century." The album contains over 250 pictures, carefully selected from the over 100,000 pictures taken by some 20 Chinese and foreign noted photographers along the whole route of the Long March. The pictures vividly introduce to the readers the picturesque scenes along the route, showing the revolutionary holy land, historical and cultural objects, the beautiful landscape, and the local customs and people. The pictures in the volume are all in color, 320 pages in all. The price of the Chinese edition is 99.00 yuan per copy.

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## A TALK ON RESTUDYING MARXIST THEORY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 86 pp 40-43

[Article by Li Junru [2621 0689 1172] and Jiang Zhaonian [5592 0340 1628]]

[Text] Restudying Marxist theory supplies the need in pushing forward our country's modernization and reform of the economic structure and the political structure and also the need to establish a socialist spiritual civilization. It is an urgent task that the current era demands of us.

At present, our country is in a new era of all-round reform and is facing numerous new problems. In order that the reform becomes a grand realization and a great accomplishment, the only way is to take the guidance of Marxist theory. This is the only way to maintain a correct course and avoid going on blindly. Although Marxist theory has not provided us with a ready-made program or answer for our reform, yet its basic principles, particularly the principle of methodology, are the basic rules we must follow when we study and solve the various new problems. Moreover, understanding of Marxist theory among many of our comrades is not very deep. In the past, under the influence of "leftist" guiding ideas, many of the important theoretical problems have been confused or simplified, resulting in the lack of a complete understanding and grasp of the scientific contents of Marxist theory. Hence, in the course of the overall reform, it is exceedingly necessary to make a restudy of the scientific theories of Marxism.

Restudying Marxist theory is a method which revolutionary teachers customarily used when meeting with sudden and violent changes in the situation of the revolution. For example, on the eve of the October Revolution in the Soviet Union, Lenin, in order to resolve the new problems that had appeared in the 1905 revolution in Russia and in the February 1917 revolution, studied the topics and lessons of how the proletariat had seized the political power and the form of state adopted to control the political power. For this purpose, he first restudied Marxist theory, took down a large number of notes and compiled the well-known notes "Marxist Theory on the State." It was precisely through earnestly and systematically restudying that he succeeded in writing the special volume "The State and Revolution," in which he enunciated the basic theory of Marxism as being the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Prior to this, despite Marx having in his articles and letters touched many times on the problem of proletariat dictatorship,

none of the pupils of Marx and Engels had ever taken it as the basic theory of Marxism. By the time Lenin mentioned this problem those who had styled themselves as "orthodox Marxists" were greatly embarrassed and even claimed that "proletariat dictatorship" was a phrase which Marx had occasionally used. From this it can be seen that people's knowledge of Marxist theory has been in a developing process of continued restudy.

Speaking from the theory of knowledge, "restudying" means that on the basis of actual practice we carry out a rethinking and a new knowledge of our original understanding of theory. In the belief of Marxist theory of knowledge, knowledge is not only the process of the subject's continuous reflection of the object but also the process of the subject continuously and actively approaching the innate laws of the object. Because of the manifestation of this self-conscious activity in knowledge of the subject as a process, it not only has a stage for each development but also in each stage it must be based on its original knowledge and theory and carry out rethinking and renewed knowing so as to be able to better receive the information supplied by the object and know the object's internal law. For example, Mao Zedong, at the time of the May 4th Movement, in the course of studying Marxism and the theory of anarchism, once believed that Ke-lu-pao-de-jin's [0344 7627 3133 3676 6855] anarchism, in comparison with Marxism, had a wider and deeper meaning. (See "Xiangjiang Pinglun," Vol 2, "Great Union of the Masses") But following the successive failures of the "Expel-Zhang Movement" and the "Henan Autonomous Movement," both of which he had enthusiastically promoted, and in a fit of depression from feeling the "hopelessness of improvement in politics," he restudied Marxism and other theories, and, upon rethinking, decided to use Marxism to rebuild corrupt China. Today in our socialist modernization and actual practice in reform, we can also discover that a real socialist movement has obvious differences from our original understanding of socialism. Just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping asked: "What is socialism and what is Marxism? Our past understanding of this problem was not exactly clear." ("Build a Socialism With Chinese Characteristics," p 35) Hence, we must take actual practice as the basis, obtain an understanding anew of the original socialist theory and reconsider our original understanding. Take for example the reform of the rural economic structure. In the beginning, it had been stipulated that we should not "assign production responsibilities to each household." Subsequently, it was acknowledged that both "assigning production responsibilities to each household" and "assigning full responsibilities to each household" constituted the production responsibility system in socialist collective economy. Therefore, "restudying" means that it is necessary in actual practice to reunderstand Marxist theory and to reunderstand how to integrate the universal theory of Marxism with our country's concrete practices.

In methodology, "restudying" is firmly insisting on the unification of dialectical affirmation and dialectical negation. Viewed from Marxist methodology, because of their internal contradictions, the development of objective matters follows the dialectical course of affirmation, negation, and negating the negation and the development of man's understanding and grasping of an object also proceeds along this zigzag road. Here, affirmation is from beginning to end dialectical affirmation, while negation is

dialectical negation, that is, in philosophy, it is known as sublation. Some people frequently take affirmation or negation as pure and simple and absolute affirmation or negation, very easily confusing the boundary line on this problem between dialectics and metaphysics. For example, in treating problems of Marxist theory, they either unconditionally affirm each and every theory and even each and every judgment and conclusion and do not allow other people to question, discuss, or revise, or simply refute many important theories and readily declare them to be "outdated." This method of not making any concrete analysis violates the dialectical method. "Restudying" is neither the simple affirmation of Marxist theory nor the simple negation of Marxist theory. It demands that we not only insist on taking Marxist theory as the guiding theory in analyzing the current new conditions and solving new problems but also not rigidly adhere to the original understanding of the contents of the Marxist theory and be courageous enough to revise individual judgments and conclusions which actual practice has found to be outdated, and readjust and supplement the original basic theory and find a new basic theory that conforms to the requirements of the times. This is to say: "Restudying" is the unifying process of insisting on Marxist theory and developing Marxist theory.

Hence, in restudying Marxist theory, it is necessary to perform well the following three tasks:

First, it is necessary, based on the experience of actual practice, to make the theory of Marxism relative to socialist construction which has gone through actual practice and been repeatedly tested, become concrete, intensified and systematic. For a prolonged period, our studying of Marxist theory has revolved around "revolution" (including democratic revolution and socialist revolution) as the central problem. Regardless of compiling teaching texts and organizing teaching work or making arrangements for discussions, we have also closely adhered to this center. This was necessary and correct during the period of revolution. But since the beginning of the 1950's due to the development of "leftist" guiding ideas, it has not been able to shift the major points of party work but has insisted on taking "class struggle as the key link," and the result has been that studying of theory has also been tainted with a thick "leftist" color, thus damaging the good reputation of Marxist theory. Up to now, in the all-round development of socialist modernization, certain comrades have entertained the abnormal idea of the "uselessness of studying theory." In reality Marxism embraces not only the contents on the side of "revolution," but also the rich contents of the "construction" side. In discoursing on the relationship between the changes in the situation of the revolution and study of theory, Lenin said: "Due to the changes in the sociopolitical situation, recently great changes have occurred in the tasks of direct acts; therefore the various sides of this lively teaching of Marxism cannot but be separately brought to an important position." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 398) According to reason, following the shifting of the revolutionary struggles of our country to socialist construction as the major task, the major point of our studying of theory should also be similarly shifted, that is, to the "construction side" of the studying of this "vivacious teaching of Marxism." Unfortunately, our studying of theory has not been able to make such a shift and

up to now in the minds of many of our comrades the understanding of Marxist theory on "construction" is fairly simple, scarce and shallow. Today, the major points of our restudying of Marxist theory should be studying the theory of Marxism relating to the socialist economic and political system relating to the reform problems of a socialist society, relating to socialist production, consumption, distribution and exchange, relating to socialist labor discipline, relating to socialist democracy and the legal system, and relating to socialist culture. Furthermore, in the course of restudying, we should, in combination with our experience in actual practice, make those important theories which have gone through actual practice and repeated tests, become concrete, intensified and systematic and turn them into guiding theories for our current actual practices.

Second, it is necessary to take stock of the new problems found in actual practice and rethink our original understanding and theory, correct the portion of the original knowledge and theory which is one-sided in nature and erroneous, and form an all-round and correct understanding. Mao Zedong, when speaking on truth and the law of development of Marxism, said: "After a certain erroneous idea has been universally cast aside by people and a certain truth has been universally accepted, an even newer truth will struggle with another new erroneous idea. This type of struggle will never come to an end." ("On Correctly Handling the Problem of People's Internal Contradictions") This is to say, Marxism is developed in the course of the continuous struggle between the erroneous ideas of its external and internal parts. Restudying Marxist theory is in reality summing up these contentions and overcoming and rejecting the "new erroneous ideas" discovered in the struggles. For example, in the course of the socialist transformation, our rural villages, for the sake of resolving the various contradictions met with by the individual peasants, adopted the economic structure of "centralized labor and united operations." At the time, this was believed to be the best form of rural socialist collective economy, possessing very great superior features. A full set of theory was formed thereof. However, soon afterward in actual practice it was found that contradictions existed between this theory and the structure on the one hand and the special features of our country's agricultural production and the level of development of the rural productive forces on the other. Many comrades attempted to use methods such as "responsibility farm" and "assigning full responsibilities to the household" which had been successful in practice, as measures in supplement and revision, but they were criticized as "restoring capitalism" and the methods were rejected. It was only after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee that we managed in our concepts to break through these "leftist" barriers and, in the course of actual practice, summed up the new experiences, forming a new theory which called for the necessary integration of "unification" and "division" and for multi-sided operation in agricultural production and pursuing the reform of the rural economic structure. At present, we still harbor many one-sided and erroneous concepts on theoretical problems. Through restudying Marxist theory, we should be able to earnestly liquidate our past understanding and theory, rectify the old theories and concepts inconsistent with actual practices, and enrich and develop Marxism on various sides.

Finally, it is still necessary, in accordance with the demand of actual practice, to boldly probe into and dig open the treasure vault of Marxist theory, bring up new interpretations and form new theories, including the formation of a new basic tenet. In analyzing the problem of the development of Marxist theory, Luxembourgu said: "The kind of attitude which, for the sake of 'maintaining the viewpoint of Marxism,' very carefully avoids departing from Marx' method of thinking, is, under certain conditions, equally harmful as another kind of attitude which, in order to recklessly prove the 'independent character of one's own thinking,' tries hard to be isolated from Marx' method of thinking." ("Selected Works of Luxembourgu," Vol 1, p 472) Her criticism here of the two kinds of harmful thinking and attitude in the treatment of Marxist theory is well worth pondering. When restudying Marxist theory, we should, in accordance with the needs of actual practice, carry out a bold theoretical search, opening up the theoretical treasure vault of Marxism. The opening up mentioned here means, first, that in the course of the restudying, we must unearth the important theories which people disregarded in the past. For example, in the process of compiling "Das Kapital," Marx mentioned the theory of the three stages of development of the evolution of human society from natural economy to commodity economy and then again to product economy. In the past we paid attention only to the five stages of development of human society, namely, from the primitive society to slave society, to feudal society, to capitalist society and to communist society, and paid scant attention to the theory of the development in three stages of the social economic structure, but it is precisely this particular theory that plays an especially important and enlightening role in the understanding of the socialist planned commodity economy. Unearthing this theory and forming the new basic tenet that "commodity economy is a stage that human society cannot pass by" carries an important guiding significance in our reform today. Second, it is necessary in the course of restudying to use Marxist methodology to sum up the experience of actual practice and form a new theory. For example, in the current international communist movement, various countries have all followed their own racial and historical characteristics in the actual practice of establishing socialism while in our country the experiences of adopting the diversified economic forms and operation forms in developing socialism and the concept of "one nation two systems," and so on, are greatly divergent from the traditional theory of Marxism, being the results of the integration of the general principles of Marxism and the current realities of the various countries, as well as the employment, creation and development of Marxist theory in a new environment. Of them, some may still be used as a new basic principle to fill up the scientific system of Marxism, because, as seen from the history of the development of Marxism, a basic theory is also not unchangeable. For example, the theory of proletarian dictatorship mentioned above originally was not people's publicly acknowledged basic principle. It was not until Lenin, starting from actual practice, went through the process of unearthing and discussing that people were made to understand that it was a main tenet of Marxism. Again for example, class struggle is no longer the main contradiction of society, but after the elimination as a class of the exploiting class in a socialist society, class struggle is no longer the main contradiction of society. In the theoretical system of socialist construction the status and role of this theoretical principle is vastly different from



the original. Hence, in this unearthing process of restudying, a series of new scientific theories and new basic principles will be formed, promoting Marxism's forward development in accordance with the demand and characteristics of today's era. In turn, this will, in a brand-new posture, guide our all-round reform and the social modernization program.

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CSO: 4004/4

## HOW SHOULD WE LOOK UPON THE INFLUENCE OF REFORM AND OPENING UP ON THE SOCIALIST SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 86 pp 43-44

[Article by Zhao Zhongsan [6392 0112 0005]]

[Text] The enforcement of the policy of reform and opening up has provided the socialist enterprise with strong vitality, not only promoting the progress of a socialist material civilization but also greatly facilitating the establishment of a socialist spiritual civilization. The active influence of reform and opening up on the socialist spiritual civilization is obvious and many-sided.

1. Reform and opening up are currently creating many material conditions for the establishment of a spiritual civilization. In the view of Marxism, mankind's material life and material civilization are the indispensable material foundation on which spiritual civilization depends for existence and continuous development. The scale and level of development of spiritual civilization is directly under the control of the development of economic construction. For a prolonged period of time, due to the influence of "leftist" guiding ideas, the economic structure has suffered from many defects. It closed its doors to the outside, resulting in a slow economic development and in impediments to material and civilization construction, but also directly influencing the construction of socialist spiritual civilization. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have enforced the policy of externally opening to the outside world and internally invigorating the economy, enabling the country's closed-door and semi-closed-door status to be opened up to the outside. It has also enabled certain ossified and semi-ossified structures to be internally invigorated and the largely self-sufficient and semi-self-sufficient natural economy to progress to a planned commodity economy with the public ownership system as the basis. This has speeded up our country's economic construction and created increasingly more material conditions for strengthening the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization. For example, there has been a notable increase in the number of peasants subscribing to newspapers and magazines. They have become better off earlier than others through the reform. Many people have become willing to finance the establishment of schools, libraries, clubs, recreational centers, theaters, cinemas and so forth. This could never have been thought of several years ago. Again, for

example, in recent years, television sets, refrigerators, recorders, washing machines, cameras and so forth have gradually come into general use. This cannot be viewed as purely the development of material civilization. Rather, it should be looked upon as providing information and services and as making direct and active contributions to the building of a socialist spiritual civilization.

2. Reform and opening up have facilitated changes in man's thinking and views. The modernization of man's ideas and views is an important aspect of a spiritual civilization. The reform and opening up have freed people from the bondages of the narrow precincts of petty production and "leftist" thinking, widened people's outlook, enlightened their thoughts, and put their wisdom into full play. They have furthermore enabled people accustomed to vertical comparison with themselves to learn to engage in lateral comparison, such as comparison with advanced countries, thereby obtaining a clearer view of their strong points and shortcomings. In actual practice, people have gradually formed new concepts which tally with the modernization program, concepts such as those on opening up, efficiency, union and competition, information, talented people and so forth. Following the development of the socialist commodity economy, concepts of closing the doors, conservatism and narrow and petty production are being broken. "Time is money, efficiency is life"--such a concept has been acknowledged and accepted by an increasing number of people. Demarcation between departments and regions and each administering separately have been changed into a lateral union based on economic laws. Reform and creating something new and continuous probing and investigating have replaced standing still and refusing to make progress; a firm insistence on opening up and actively making importations and introductions have replaced closing the country to foreign intercourse. These changes in concepts have stirred up people's confidence and courage in making unremitted efforts to improve themselves. They have raised the self-consciousness for establishing the "two civilizations."

3. Reform and opening up have speeded up the development of education, science, and culture. The development of education, science, and cultural enterprises, respect for knowledge and respect for talented people are the important contents in the establishment of a spiritual civilization. Reform and opening up raised people's understanding of the position and role of education, science, and culture in the establishment of a modern civilization and stimulated people's enthusiasm for learning new scientific and cultural knowledge. The talk of "knowledge being useless" has lost its significance while the intellectual elements are receiving people's universal acclaim and respect. A nationwide fervor for learning modern scientific knowledge has appeared. In the fields of science and technology, we have paid attention to actively reforming the scientific research structure, to readjusting the forces in scientific research, to absorbing new scientific research results in various fields in foreign countries, to promptly keeping in step with the new direction in scientific research development and to vigorously developing science and technology in our country, thus bringing about the integration of science, technology and the economy. In the fields of culture and artcraft, in recent years there has been unprecedented prosperity in cinema pictures, shows and dramas, music,

songs and cultural creations. There has also been an extensive interflow of Chinese and foreign culture and art, promoting the development of culture and art in our country and concurrently improving our people's appreciation for art and interest in objects of beauty.

4. Reform and opening up held in improving people's capacity to judge right and wrong and in absorbing the superior results of mankind's spiritual civilization. They radically change the usual position of closing the country's gates and separation from the outside world and strengthen various kinds of interflow with foreign countries. Hence, they enable people at their respective posts to gain many-sided knowledge of the whole world. This is beneficial to people in their busy social lives weighing and comparing the pros and cons of issues, increasing their immunity from disease, helping them to judge between good and ugly and becoming efficient in studying, copying, and inheriting the superior results of mankind's spiritual civilization. For example, people of developed countries pay close attention to civilized manners; they fervently love art, observe public order and are keenly interested in public hygiene, protect historic relics of culture, maintain ecological balance, prevent environmental pollution, and so on, all of which are well worth our studying and copying. By means of reform and opening up and intercourse with foreign countries, our people will become increasingly aware of the importance of learning other people's good points to make up for their own shortcomings. This has an important significance in speeding up the establishment of a socialist spiritual civilization in our country.

Naturally, in the course of reform and opening up, the appearance of certain passive elements cannot be avoided. Due to the influence of the rotten ideas of capitalism and feudalism, among a small number of people some have always looked for money, some "sought private gains with power," some are after the rotten and degraded life patterns of capitalism, some have damaged the state's interests in their foreign dealings, losing their national character and human character, and so on. But these passive things are not the inevitable results of reform and opening up and to blame reform and opening up for these problems is not realistic. We not only cannot refute the policy of reform and opening up for the appearance of these problems but also cannot, because of them, negate the promotional role of reform and opening up toward socialist spiritual civilization. Nevertheless, it should still be seen that these passive elements play an extremely corrosive and damaging role in spiritual civilization. We should not pretend we have not noticed them or treat them casually but must depend on education and law to firmly oppose and boycott them so as to ensure the smooth progress of the reform and opening up and the establishment of the spiritual civilization.

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WHY SHOULD GRAIN BE GRASPED FOR A LONG TIME TO COME AS A MAJOR MATTER THAT HAS BEARING ON THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND THE PEOPLE'S LIVELIHOOD?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 86 pp 45-46

[Article by Ding Shengjun [0002 5116 0193]]

[Text] Under the new historical conditions in our country, it is still necessary for us to grasp grain for a long time to come as a major matter that has a bearing on the national economy and the people's livelihood. This is determined by its decisive role in the national economy.

Grain is the main food for people to exist. In order to live and develop, people need such basic means of subsistence as clothes, food, housing, and so on. In the material life, food is the first necessity of the people. Of the various foods, being on the biggest production scale, grain is called "the first food." It is estimated that 80 percent of the calories and 70 percent of the protein absorbed by people in Third World countries now come from grain. As the economy in our country is not yet developed, grain will remain an irreplaceable necessity for the basic living of the people for a long time to come. With a large cardinal number and an annual natural growth of 10 million people, the total population in our country will reach 1.2 billion by the end of this century. Therefore, the demand for grain will grow correspondingly. However, farmland, which is a fundamental condition for grain production, is sharply dwindling. In recent years, the total area of reduced farmland in some provinces in a year is nearly equal to the size of a medium-size county. The contradiction between the increase in the demand for grain and the decrease in the area of farmland determines the importance of grain production. Therefore, it is imperative to increase the total yield through concentrating on boosting the per unit area yield to make up for the drop of grain output resulting from the reduction of farmland. Judging from a viewpoint of development, our country is now striding toward the goal of modernization. By the end of this century, the livelihood of the people in the country will attain a level of comparatively well-off life and the proportion of animal food like meat, eggs, milk, and so on in the food structure will increase remarkably. However, people often misunderstand and believe that if we consume more animal food, we will consume less grain. In fact, it is exactly the opposite. The animal food is mainly converted from grain via the "organic factories" of livestock and domestic fowl. Generally, 1 jin of beef, pork,

and eggs would respectively need 7, 4, and 3 jin of grain to complete the conversion. Therefore, the higher the consumption of animal food, the higher the indirect grain consumption. At present, almost all the countries in the world mainly consuming animal food also consume a high degree of grain. In the three cities of Beijing, Tianjin, and Shanghai, where the consumption of animal food is now relatively high, the per capita annual grain consumption has reached 900 to 1,000 jin. Therefore, we can say that the higher the level of modernization, the greater the demand for grain. Nevertheless, as the farmland in our country which was always in great demand keeps dwindling and natural disasters happen frequently, the production of grain is restricted. In a long period of time in the future, it is not the abundance of grain we should worry about but the deficiency of grain. Therefore, it is necessary to build up a strategic thinking for grain development in our country and grasp grain production as a major matter with a bearing on the national economy and the people's livelihood.

In recent years, our country has been gradually readjusting the structure of the planting industry and the rural production structure, in an effort to strike a reasonable balance between agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry between the planting, breeding and processing industries and between agriculture, industry and commerce, so as to effect overall development and operations. This is a reform with far-reaching significance to our country's rural economy. It is proven that the readjustment of the rural production structure does not decrease but increases the demand for grain. Therefore, with the readjustment of the rural production structure, a large number of laborers will transfer from agriculture to forestry, animal husbandry, fishery and the side-line production of industry and change from grain producers to commodity grain consumers. Therefore, the demand for commodity grain will surely increase. Furthermore, in the readjustment of the rural production structure, the breeding industry will vigorously develop. One of the necessary conditions for the development of this industry is forage, whose basic element is also grain. In the readjustment of the rural production structure, another new industry is the food processing industry, which is more directly and closely related to grain. For example, the elementary material for trades like pastry, beverage, brewers, and other trades is grain. This shows that the total supply capability of commodity grain is one of the basic conditions for the readjustment of the rural production structure. The readjustment of the rural production structure and the development of grain production can supplement and promote each other. The readjustment of the structures of the planting industry and rural production can create jobs for a large number of the surplus rural laborers to exploit the abundant rural resources and promote an all-round development of the rural economy. Therefore, we can make the grain production concentrate on the farmlands which are suitable for growing grain and the people who are good at growing grain, which is favorable to upgrading the specialization level and the commodity standard of grain production and improving economic effectiveness. Because a large number of the surplus laborers have turned to engage in the diversified economy, they can purchase the commodity grain with their higher income to satisfy their needs, thus raising a new demand for grain and adding a new motive power to the development of grain production. Besides, along with



the development of the new rural industries like the processing industry, commerce, transportation, and so on, all the social services for agriculture and grain production will be strengthened. These would play an important role in promoting grain production.

Grain is a kind of staple commodity to stabilize market and conduct international trade. History has proved that if grain is plentiful, the market would be brisk. If the supply of grain can exceed its demand and a certain amount of grain can be exported, the state can earn some foreign exchange. On the contrary, if the state has to import grain, a lot of foreign exchange will be wasted, which would unavoidably and gravely affect the development of the national economy.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the grain production of our country has made universally acknowledged achievements. Nevertheless, in order to reach the strategic target (of 960 billion jin) by the end of this century, it is still necessary for us to adopt some effective measures to create the corresponding production conditions and tap the reserve potential for increasing production. Therefore, we should vigorously grasp production and circulation. In the area of production, we should be willing to spend a certain amount of money and materials on strengthening basic water conservation facilities, raising the scientific and technological levels of agriculture and improving agricultural production conditions, so as to strengthen the reserve potential for developing grain production. In the area of circulation, it is an important reform that our country has abolished the state monopoly for the purchase and marketing of grain and instituted the measure of placing orders according to contracts. It should be further improved, so as to make it a bridge linking up and readjusting the production and marketing of grain. Under the guidance of state planning, efforts should be made to expand the scope of regulation by market mechanism, develop the later combinations going beyond regions, departments and trades, break blockades and expand the scope of and invigorate the practice of negotiating the purchase and marketing of grain, so as to better bring into play the role of circulation to promote grain production and rationally guide consumption.

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## PAY ATTENTION TO EDUCATION ON ATHEISM IN RURAL AREAS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 86 p 46

[Article by Huang Shengping [7806 0524 1627] and Li Dezhong [2621 1795 1813]; "excerpted" from QUNZHONG, No 9, 1986]

[Text] Under the new situation of reform, opening to the outside world and invigoration, certain social phenomena which are incompatible with the construction of the two civilizations have appeared. One example is the expansion and spread of feudalistic superstitious activities. This evil wind must be firmly and determinedly stopped.

### (1) Integrating the Opposition to Feudalistic Superstitious Activities With Party Rectification in the Rural Areas

It is necessary that rural party members and cadres be educated to make them believe in science and not in demons and gods, and to make them understand that Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought are the compass for the actions of the Chinese Communist Party and that communist members cannot believe in religion, and far less participate in superstitious activities. The small minority of people who persist in not reforming themselves in this respect should be dealt with severely.

### (2) Integrating the Opposition to Feudalistic Superstitious Activities With Rural General Education

Feudalistic superstitious activities are not permitted under the PRC's Constitution and the relevant statutes. Party organs at various levels in the rural villages should take the banning of feudalistic superstitious activities as one of the principal ideas of their general education and should take it as an important aspect in assessing the results of the general education. It is necessary that the cadres be taught to correctly, firmly and irrevocably carry out the party's policy on education and also to firmly and clearly oppose the feudalistic superstitious activities.

### (3) Integrating the Opposition to Feudalistic Superstitious Activities With the Creation of Civilized Villages and Towns

In formulating and perfecting the "Village Regulations and People's Constraints," it is necessary to make the banning of feudalistic superstitious

activities as one of its articles and as an important criterion to weigh and assess a civilized village. We must greatly commend the advanced, and carry forward and enhance the thoughts and moral codes of communism. Regarding witches and other professionals in feudalistic superstition, they should be educated to reform themselves and those found to have committed criminal offenses should be dealt with according to law.

(4) Employing Various Forms and Methods To Greatly Propagate the Scientific and Cultural Knowledge of Socialism, Unveiling the Deceptions and Trickery of Feudalistic Superstition and Ever Lively Conduct the Propagation of Atheism

It is necessary to extensively organize the peasant masses to develop various kinds of healthy and beneficial cultural and recreational activities and to use the ideologies and culture of socialism and communism to occupy the rural fronts.

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## TWO ITEMS OF RANDOM THOUGHT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 86 p 47

[Article by He Dazhang [0149 1129 4549]]

### [Text] A Heartening Failure

I have heard the following story: A leading central government comrade was going to visit a county for a work inspection. Having heard this news, the county party committee secretary and the county governor went into frantic action and dragged in many people to dash off a voluminous pile of reports. When the leading central government comrade arrived, however, he did not let them read the reports, but asked them to answer two questions: First, what are the main strong points of the county, and second, what are the main current problems? Surprisingly, the county leaders could find no answers. This failure made them greatly dejected.

This incident makes one sigh with regret, for two reasons.

First, the adamant corrupt practice of formalism is regrettable. In formulating summary reports, some units like to include each and every detail, important or trivial, without any omissions; the phraseology entails repeated, meticulous deliberation--for example, it takes a heated debate to decide whether the fulfillment of a task should be described as "relatively satisfactory" or "indicative of progress"; the theoretical flavor should be strong and it is highly desirable to quote authoritative works. Consequently, facts are obliterated through repeated rephrasing and the reports become empty talk and stereotyped writing which are "absolutely correct." Moreover, the reports tend to contain tens of thousands of words and it seems that the longer they are, the better. Writing them is agonizing, reading them parches the orators' throats, and listening to them makes one sleepy. Such reports are harmful. Second, the incompetence of some cadres is regrettable. The leading cadre of a unit should know clearly, and always keep in mind, the main strong points and problems of his unit. If he must inquire of the secretary about these very matters, or must organize a meeting to discuss what they are, then how can he guide daily work? How can he be a qualified leading cadre? If he fails to tell what they are, what is the use of the tens of thousands of words in his report?

Despite these two reasons for regret, there is a reason for feeling heartened. That move by the leading central government comrade reflects a pragmatic spirit. If leading comrades at all levels also act in the same way, the old methods of thinking and work as well as bureaucracy and formalism will no longer work. The leading cadres of the county should consider that failure as a heartening one. We should also be inspired by the incident and conscientiously examine our own work style. Leading cadres should be well-informed about many things, but in the first place they must know the important matters and must not depend on reports written by others to remember them. Work reports must be regularly made, but they must never be turned into stereotyped writing. Instead, they should be concise and state nothing but the truth. Moreover, comrades in charge of higher authorities should never judge the work done at the lower levels by their reports alone. They must go deep into reality and use their own brains. In this way, our work will surely be more effectual.

#### What Nicknames Suggest

People are nicknamed according to the features of their appearance, habits, or personality. Ordinary people often nickname "government officials" with reference to their style of work or their achievements in office; these nicknames imply praise or censure and embody the people's feelings. During the rule of the Qing emperor Shunzhi, two high officials were sent successively to govern the area south of the lower reaches of the Changjiang. The first, Qin Shizhen, worked diligently and was nicknamed "Iron Face" [incorruptible]. His successor, Li Chengshao, who was lazy, incompetent, and always drunk, was nicknamed "Mess." Someone rewrote Cui Hu's famous poem entitled "The Maiden's Face and the Peach Blossoms" and stuck the rewritten version on a wall; it read: "Two different faces appearing today and this day last year are Mess and Iron Face. Today the whereabouts of Iron Face are unknown, while Mess continues to be drunk and happy every day."

Nowadays, nicknames can still suggest many things. Comrade Wang Chonglun assumed his office as mayor of Harbin several years ago. He soon solved the problem of a shortage of beancurds in the land of soyabeans, and got the nickname "Beancurd Mayor" which immediately became widely known. A deputy mayor of Nanjing in charge of urban amenities, brought perfect order to the city's municipal affairs and was nicknamed "Roads Mayor." Mayor Zhang Tiemin of Xian was impartial and incorruptible in managing municipal affairs. He did not even hesitate to punish his superiors when necessary. The nickname "Iron Mayor" not only resounded locally, but was also spread quickly across the country. Last year, Zhang Tiemin died from illness. Numerous Xian residents spontaneously surged into the streets to join the funeral procession to commemorate him. A several-character nickname can be just like public praise enunciated by tens of thousands of people; it can also express the eager desire of the masses for having cadres with the desired quality.

Of course, not all nicknames are like that. The residents of a certain city nicknamed their deputy mayor "Television Mayor," not because he helped popularize television viewing, nor because he helped improve the quality of

television programs. The nickname did not blame him for appearing on television, but implied that the residents' knowledge of his achievements in office was limited to the frequent occasions, often 3 to 5 days apart, where he cut ribbons at opening ceremonies or attended banquets here and there, as seen in television news. How pertinent and profound was the criticism embodied in the nickname!

A nickname is a mirror reflecting reality. Breaking the mirror cannot help change the image in it. Moreover, that mirror is unbreakable because it exists in the hearts of the masses. If one wants to remove the censure implied by a nickname, one can only vigorously change one's style of work so that the masses will change their conception of oneself. It is hoped that our leading cadres can more satisfactorily tap valuable nourishment from nicknames.

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DISTINCT INDIVIDUALITY, ELEGANT Demeanor OF THE TIMES--READING THE REPORT  
'MAGISTRATE OF THE SEVENTH RANK'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 86 p 48

[Article by Li Hui [7812 6540]]

[Text] In scholastic productions and in people's thought, a good county-grade cadre is one who "has a manure basket across his back and is bare-footed," or one who "carries a yellow book package, and rides a bicycle," about equivalent to the claim that "he has sweated just like the masses and has as much mud all over his body as the masses." Since the founding of the PRC, good cadres have taken as their own tasks "bringing the tradition of the revolution into full play" and "protecting and maintaining the characteristics of their class." This has won the confidence of the people and enabled our country's socialist construction to achieve many successes. Since the coming of the new times, scholastic productions have concentrated their efforts fully on praising and eulogizing party secretaries and county magistrates for their work in redressing mishandled court cases, arresting bad elements, being bold in making decisions, swift and firm in their actions, sternly enforcing laws and discipline and banishing the evils of the times. Concurrently, we are happy to find a number of leadership cadres of the new type, who have a clear mind in matters of economics and employ scientific methods of work and who are all-powerful in giving orders in the various sectors of the four modernization program. If it is said that in short stories the generation of the objects of art comes only through the process in life of concentrating, steeling and processing, then reportage literature puts real people before our very eyes. Naturally, this kind of art of presenting wholly real figures has a much larger influence and makes a more powerful impression.

The distinct individuality of magistrate Gao Shengling of Loning County has attracted our attention. The elegant demeanor of the times reflected from this person has made people become anxious to rise to the occasion. He is not too confined to the observance of former rules and law but dares to do what other people do not dare to do or even to think about. He is endowed with a clear economic brain. "Without looking at his notes, he can talk at length on Loning's resources, its characteristics and the future in store, without a single false word." He has a definite purpose in doing everything. He is not given to the "formality" in officialdom of politely sending

off the old and welcoming the new, "but at the conclusion of each and every dinner party, frequently several large and important business deals may have been consummated." He has the leadership method of modern science and the ability and tactics to use people. He does not look at each and every thing as "important," or "take command" everywhere, or "personally look into everything." Rather, he "does not suspect people once he has hired them but will not hire people when in doubt"; "he delegates power freely and with an ease of mind." He said: "I give you power but do not pass on your contradictions to me. If you do so, then you are useless. If you know you are not equal to the job, then tell me beforehand so that I may appoint some other people." He is highly sympathetic and is always seriously concerned with the hardships of the cadres at grass-roots level. He helps them to solve their family troubles. Wishing to raise the quality and standard of the cadre ranks, he started a campaign of "county officials examining township officials" and by so doing enabled the county "to generate an atmosphere of eagerness of studying business principles and highly regarding investigation and research work." He has the gift of being farsighted. He has the welfare of Loning deep in his heart but his vision is not confined to county limits; rather, he likes to develop "economic diplomacy" and to go outside the county, the province and the country to attract and import capital funds, technology, information and "talented" people. He is sensitive to time and benefit in a modern way, being fully aware of the functions and duties of a county magistrate. Thus, he does not carry a manure basket or ride a bicycle to go to the villages, or in any way depart from the people's basic interests or indulge in shamming acts of "struggling with hardship and difficulties." He makes full use of his car, most of the time on errands to different places. But he is not infected with the lust for money and does not use his authority to seek private gains. He is a leader of the opening-up type. He will never waste time and energy on insignificant matters such as "settling old accounts or deciding on right or wrong." "Now, we are undertaking construction in Loning; I shall appoint to a high post whoever is willing to devote efforts, and has the capability, to do things for the people of Loning." Precisely because of this series of new ideas and new acts, in only slightly over a year's time, Gao Shengling has succeeded in bringing about a radical change in Loning, its economy has achieved a rapid and flying development and this small county in the mountainous areas has become well-known throughout the country.

The mention of "opening up" frequently makes people think of the relationship between the heroic air of going all out and the spirit of confronting contradictions and daring to meet with hardships and difficulties. On this score, Gao Shengling seems to be slightly unlike himself. He is cautious and sometimes "foxy," and "in order to avoid confrontations," regarding certain irrational phenomena, at times he is inclined to be a little conciliatory. With people who openly wish to cross swords with him, he always avoids direct confrontations, delegating full power to the assistant magistrate Yang Leifu to deal with them. His real purpose is to follow his own plans and engage in "economic diplomacy," taking a roundabout way, avoiding direct confrontation with concrete problems and making use of the new situation of a flying development of the economy as a foundation stone on which to stand firmly and defeat his opponents. Like a skillful chess

player, he has worked out a new road, opened up a new situation and at the same time avoided the kind of tragic ending which we have frequently seen. Gao Shengling's image in this regard is "the one" that has no duplicate.

Gao Shengling is a talented person of the opening-up type, born in this new era of ours. Only in this era can he fully display his talents. Because of this he has won the affirmation and commendation of the secretary of the provincial CPC committee and the general secretary of the CPC Central Committee. Gao Shengling is a lucky person: He has a capable "house-keeper" in the person of the assistant magistrate Yang Leifu; and he has come across county CPC committee members who belong to an entirely different type, who may not like his ways but who have gone along and provided him with a relatively free hand. Indeed, other reformers have never come across such opportunities. For the sake of the flying start and development of thousands of Loning villages and for the sake of the whole four modernization program, let us provide each and every reformer with a fertile environment to fully display his wares!

("Magistrate of the Seventh Grade" was written by Zhang Yu [1728 1342] and carried in issue No 4, 1986 of BENLIU magazine.)

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A SPECIAL COLLECTION OF THEORETICAL ESSAYS THAT UPHOLD, PUBLICIZE, AND DEVELOP MAO ZEDONG'S THINKING ON LITERATURE AND ART--INTRODUCING PARTS ONE, TWO, AND THREE OF 'STUDY ON MAO ZEDONG'S THINKING ON LITERATURE AND ART'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 86 inside back cover

["Book review" column by Yu Piao [0151 7373] and Fu Shusheng [0265 2885 5116]]

[Text] The first three parts of "Study on Mao Zedong's Thinking on Literature and Art" (hereafter called "Study" for short) edited by the All-China Research Society of Mao Zedong's Thinking on Literature and Art and published by the Hunan People's Publishing House have been published. Part Four will also meet the readers soon. This special collection of theoretical essays has taken realistic steps forward on the road of upholding, publicizing, and developing Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art.

The common theme of the articles published in this special collection is to uphold the basic principles of Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art. The basic principles of Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art represent in concentration the fundamental and long-term interests of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people. However, in order for Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art to strike root in the minds of the masses, it is necessary to do some propaganda work. The distortion and falsification of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," in particular, have covered it with a layer of dust. This makes it all the more necessary conscientiously to set things right and to conduct thoroughgoing reform so that the broad masses can clearly see its true feature and understand its great truth. To this end, the writers of the "Study" have studied its rich contents from numerous aspects and levels. There are articles studying the whole system from the macro level, as well as specific topics from the micro level; articles studying its philosophical basis, specific background, and historical status and value, as well as specific expositions about its various contents; articles studying Comrade Mao Zedong's expositions, as well as the expositions of Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, and other comrades on literature and art; and articles making a comparison between Mao Zedong's thinking and Western theories on literature and art, as well as between Mao Zedong's thinking and China's ancient theories on literature and art. In short, with its broad vision and rich variety in the selection of themes, the "Study" can help the readers draw a clear line of demarcation between the essence of Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art and the distortion and

falsification of it by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." It can also meet the needs of the readers for comprehensive understanding of Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art.

Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art is an example of integrating theory with practice. In studying it, we should also have a creative spirit. It is precisely in this spirit that the writers of the "Study" have broken away from the previous study pattern of being satisfied only with explaining the original works; stressed using the stand, viewpoints, and methods of Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art to analyze and answer practical questions; and striven for replenishment and development through application. The articles in the "Study" uphold the principles of proceeding from practical life and of literature and art serving the people and socialism. On the one hand, they devote themselves to eliminating the pernicious influence and effect of the "leftist" trends of thought in the literature and art field; on the other hand, they soundly and scientifically analyze and criticize certain tendencies of bourgeois liberalization in the literature and art field. This is beneficial to the sound development of socialist literature and art.

In its style of writing, the "Study" strives to be substantive, vivid, and lively. By discussing problems humorously it closely combines scientific character with readability. Its writers include revolutionary literature and art workers of the older generation of the Yanan period such as Comrades Lin Mohan, Gong Mu, Hu Cai, and Wang Liaoying. They also include some key members in studying and teaching literature and art in institutes of higher learning and in scientific research institutions who have published numerous writings, as well as quite a few promising young writers who have displayed their talent for the first time.

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